VOLUME XXXV No. 4

The Catholic Historical Review

ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER MARTIN R. P. McGUIRE
JOHN TRACY ELLIS
Managing Editor

ADVISORY EDITORS

MANOEL S. CARDOZO THOMAS T. McAVOY THOMAS P. NEILL
WILLIAM L. DAVIS ROBERT F. McNAMARA GEORGE J. UNDREINER

Table of Contents

JANUARY, 1950

ARTICLES

The Renaissance: A Review of Some Views
Henry S. Lucas 377

Some Catholic Tories in the American Revolution. II
Charles H. Metzger 408

BOOK REVIEWS 428

NOTES AND COMMENTS 477

BRIEF NOTICES 485

PERIODICAL LITERATURE 503

BOOKS RECEIVED 510

V.
194

BOOK REVIEWS

Sacred History. (Daniel-Rops). Matthew P. Stapleton 428
Saint Paul: Envoy of Grace. (Robert Sencourt). John J. Dougherty 429
A Procession of Saints. (James Broderick, S.J.). Albert C. Shannon..... 430
Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. (Otto G. von Simson). Barbara Foster Sessions 432
Thomas More. (R. W. Chambers). Lawrence J. Shehan 434
Citizen Thomas More and His Utopia. (Russell Ames). Henry A. Callahan 436
The Catholic Reformation. (Pierre Janelle). Robert H. Lord 437
Apuntes para servir a la historia del Arzobispado de Morelia. (Juan B. Buitron). William J. Coleman 438
Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara. (Peter Masten Dunne, S.J.). Antonine S. Tibesar 439
Les missions catholiques dans L'ouest canadien (1818-1875). (Joseph Etienne Champagne, O.M.I.). John Perry Pritchett 441
Church and State in Guatemala. (Mary P. Holleran). Peter Masten Dunne 442
Footprints of Father Theobald Mathew, O.F.M. Cap. (Father Augustine, O.F.M. Cap.). James A. Reynolds 443
Pioneer Monks in Nova Scotia. (Luke Schrepfer, O.S.A.). Mark J. Lineberger 445
Sermons and Discourses. (John Henry Cardinal Newman). J. F. Leddy 446
Newman and Bloxam. An Oxford Friendship. (R. D. Middleton). Edmond D. Benard 447
Monsiegneur Fuzet. Archevêque de Rouen. Volume I. *Les Origines, l'episcopat à la Réunion et à Beauvais.* (Canon Ch. Cordonnier). Joseph S. Brusber 448
Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945. From the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry. (U. S. Government Printing Office). John Tracy Ellis 449
Judicial Doctrines of Religious Rights in America. (William George Torpey). Wilfrid Parsons 453
Saint Among the Hurons. The Life of Jean de Brébeuf. (Francis X. Talbot, S.J.). J. Robert Lane 454
The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830-1851. (Hugh J. Nolan). Thomas T. McAvoy 455
James Alphonus McMaster: A Study in American Thought. (Sister Mary Augustine Kwitchen, O.S.F.). J. Herman Schauinger 456
The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor. (Henry J. Browne). Edwin E. Witte 457
Burnt Out Incense. (M. Raymond, O.C.S.C.). John Tracy Ellis 458
A Century of Grace. (Robert F. McNamara). Charles J. Mahoney..... 460
A Handbook of Slavic Studies. (ed. Leonid I. Strakhovsky). Joseph V. Swastek 461
Modern Nationalism and Religion. (Salo Wittmayer Baron). William A. Orton 463
Makers of the Modern Mind. (Thomas P. Neill). Kurt F. Reinhardt..... 465
Mediaeval Russian Churches. (Samuel Hazzard Cross). Francis Dvornik 466
La geste du Prince Igor. Epopée Russe du XII^e siècle. (R. Jakobson, H. Gregoire, S. H. Cross, M. S. Szeftel). Francis Dvornik 467
South Africa under John III, 1521-1557. (Sidney R. Welch). Manoel Cardozo 469

Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier (1782-1864) et l'enigme de la congrégation. (G. de Bertier de Sauvigny). Vincent M. McDonald 470
Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism. Social Forces in England and France (1815-1870). (J. Salwyn Schapiro). Joseph N. Moody 472
The Second World War: Their Finest Hour. (Winston Churchill). John T. Farrell 473
Foundations of the Public Library. The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England, 1629-1855. (Jesse H. Shera). Eugene P. Willging 475

V.
194

The Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME XXXV JANUARY, 1950 No. 4

THE RENAISSANCE: A REVIEW OF SOME VIEWS*

BY

HENRY S. LUCAS*

Few subjects of historiography so persistently press for solution as the period conventionally called the Renaissance. So difficult has the problem of interpreting that complex age become during four or five centuries of scholarly study that the historian of today hesitates to attempt a briefly formulated key to an understanding of that age.[1]

This difficulty is due to a variety of circumstances. First of all, there is the enormously complicated character of that age revealing the widest diversity of art, science, philosophy, religion, politics, war, economic life, technology, geographical discovery, and social development. Second, and this point usually is not sufficiently emphasized, the age of the Renaissance came at the close of a dozen centuries of some of the most remarkable changes in the history of man. The barbarians of the fifth century, possessing a culture rude, as compared with that of the Graeco-Roman world, had occupied the Roman Empire, adopted some of its culture, transformed it, created a new life on the ruins of the classical past. A new civilization emerged. Ma-

* This article was originally read as the presidential address before the American Catholic Historical Association in Boston on December 30, 1949. Mr. Lucas is professor of modern European history in the University of Washington.

[1] This study was executed before the appearance of W. K. Ferguson's *The Renaissance in Historical Thought. Five Centuries of Interpretation* (Boston, 1948). Important other works on the same subject are H. S. Nordholt, *Het Beeld der Renaissance. Een Historiografische Studie* (Amsterdam, 1948); the article by F. Chabod, *Il Rinascimento* in *Questioni di Storia Moderna a Cura da Ettore Rota* (Milan, 1948), pp. 53-99; A. Philippi, *Der Begriff der Renaissance. Daten zu seiner Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1912); W. Rehm, *Das Werden des Renaissance Bildes in der deutschen Dichtung bis zum Realismus* (Munich, 1924).

norial and feudal institutions of much diversity came into existence. By their side appeared other institutions very different from the pattern exhibited by feudal and manorial institutions in northern France, a knowledge of which has been only too well propagated by textbooks. Among these institutions, for example, are the clan organizations of the Celtic populations in the British Isles, the free farmers of Friesland, Scandinavia, and the uplands of northern Germany, also the diverse arrangements existing among Slavic, Finnish, Lithuanian, and other peoples. Commerce developed, industry throve, and numerous towns came into existence. The bulk of this commerce and industry and the number of towns that grew up was greater than at any time during the classical days of Greece and Rome, at least in the more western parts of the Roman Empire.

A splendid art developed. Romanesque architecture today is recognized for what it really was, a triumph of constructive effort. No person who has studied the noble Norman parts of the churches in Lincoln, Durham, Winchester, Hereford, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Tewkesbury, or Romsey can fail to note that in those grand piles man's skill at building reached a truly classic level. In painting and sculpture similar greatness was attained. Gothic sculpture can no longer be dismissed as the feeble product of unskilled hands. The noble figures that still grace the façades and porches of French churches are worthy forerunners of the fine work of Claas Sluter, to be seen in Dijon. Certainly Gothic painting recorded in the miniatures in service books of the age led to the splendid art of the Van Eyck brothers, which was continued by such masters as Rogier Van der Weyden, Hieronymus Bosch, Dirk Bouts, and Hans Memlinc. Besides the chivalric romances such as the history of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Morte d'Arthur of Mallory which also have their just title to recognition, appeared the great works of Chaucer and Dante, the *Pearl* and the *Vision of Piers Plowman,* the Scandinavian sagas, the Flemish plays of which *Everyman,* so well known in England, is a fair example, the *Letters of* John Paston, and a host of chronicles. Philosophy also developed, the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and William Occam revealing an extraordinary profundity in the problems of metaphysics. And last but not least is to be noted the creation of centralized government, absolutist and bureaucratic in character as in the case of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. Surely historians cannot ignore the relation such striking

achievements bore to the age of the Renaissance without perpetrating endless violence to the whole period.

While the diversity of cultural forms thus inherited by the Renaissance and the complexity of its life present serious difficulties to the person who seeks to understand the phenomena of the Renaissance the problem of producing satisfactory syntheses has been complicated by the variety of interpretations advanced during the centuries that have elapsed since the *Quattrocento*. How easy it has been to produce formulae but how difficult to master the pertinent facts of the varied aspects of even a decade of the high Renaissance! And how readily have admirers of the life and thought of that age repeated these formulae which upon reflection all too often project philosophical and other prepossessions into the phenomena of the Renaissance! Enamoured by the brilliance of Renaissance achievement, by the renewed emphasis upon the study of classical letters, the philologists of the *Quattrocento* and *Cinquecento* believed the study of the classics was the sole wellspring of civilization. Mediaeval culture was despised, ignored, misunderstood, banished from the mind as a period of unrelieved darkness, of cultural impotency.

Inheriting the prejudices of these scholars, in the seventeenth century came the men of the Enlightenment who as a rule curtly dismissed the mediaeval antecedents of Renaissance culture as unworthy of serious study. Frequently they preferred to reconstruct by process of reasoning what they believed was an ignoble, superstitious, and ignorant age. Rarely did they descend to the study of the documents and artistic monuments of that age. Their prejudices were handed on to the men of the Romantic movement. Although some of these woke to the greatness of mediaeval culture as in the case of Chateaubriand, Montalembert, Kenelm Digby, and Fosbroke, others persisted in the traditional disparagement of the Middle Ages and even added to the misunderstanding of them.

Now in 1949 it is exactly ninety years ago that Jacob Christoph Burckhardt was preparing his *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien,* a volume the significance of which neither he nor his readers at that moment could divine.[2] For not only did this remarkable volume at

[2] *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien. Ein Versuch,* is published in the *Jacob-Bruckhardt Gesamtausgabe,* V (Berlin and Leipzig, 1930). This text is based upon the author's corrections in a copy of the second edition (1869), the last to be revised by him. It has also been published separately, e.g., at Bern in 1943. This text was prepared by Werner Kaegi.

the moment present a view acceptable to many of the varied forms of culture to be found in the Italy of the *Trecento, Quattrocento,* and *Cinquecento,* but its method of evaluating these forms and binding together the salient expressions of Italian life and thought in a cultural context believed to be valid was destined to be instrumental in laying the foundations of *Kulturgeschichte.*

Valuable, even indispensable, as were the labors of the school of political historians that flourished during the centuries before Burckhardt arrived at his maturity, the cultivation of political history could not fully satisfy the inquiring spirit of Clio's devotees. After all, political history possesses its decided limits. Beyond its apparently clearly defined borders lie the vast realms of painting, sculpture, and architecture, the immense body of literature represented by many forms; the great schools of ethics and philosophy; the development of the natural sciences of physics, astronomy, geology, and chemistry which have so helped to transform the daily life of people; the phenomenal growth of the discipline of mathematics; the rapid advances of technology; the expansion of European economic activity over five continents which had never felt the influence of occidental economic leadership; and finally, but not least, the complex subject of the Christian religion and its innumerable practical applications to the life and thought of the people of Europe and of those European peoples who migrated into the newly discovered continents and won the allegiance of many pagans to Christianity. Some historians, indeed, there were who could not resist a curious glance into such themes, and a number of them made contributions which seemed to proclaim new tendencies in the writing of history. But it was Jacob Burckhardt who first effectively subjected the varied aspects of the entire life of an age to a penetrating scrutiny. *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* from this standpoint is a pioneer achievement of the first magnitude in the historiography of *Kulturgeschichte.*

There is more than all this, however, in Burckhardt's volume. After an historian has diligently studied the cultural forms of an age and ascertained their true characater he cannot rest content with his labors. For he knows that beyond the mass of facts—dates, institutions, lives of human beings, social organs, and organization of states, art, technology, to mention only some of the more apparent—there are other problems to be explored. Here he meets questions which properly do not fall within the historian's orbit. These questions deal

with the problems of man's own being—his origin and destiny, his relation to all things he knows exist and with which he inevitably is concerned. There are the problems of epistemology (dependent upon psychology but also upon metaphysics), the difficult matter of metaphysics, and finally also the question of religion. What positive attitude he adopts on these matters necessarily determines the way he will gauge the quality of a civilization, seek to grasp its most general and ultimate character. That Burckhardt was interested in such matters is certain; but regardless of what we may think of his views on these final questions, the fact remains he presented the reading public of 1860 and following decades with a cultural-historical interpretation of Italian life from the *Duecento* to the *Seicento,* the methodology of which has proved a powerful influence.

Born in 1819, Burckhardt sprang from an excellent family long and prominently established in Basel. His sensitive and intelligent mind was exposed to all manner of influences coming to Basel, a city centrally situated at the confines of France and Germany and not far from Italy. There was, of course, the heritage of the Enlightenment which had attained its apogee during the preceding century. The French Revolution, its theories, excesses, and its disillusionments vividly impressed themselves upon his mind. Education in the traditional classical gymnasium opened to him splendid vistas of Greek and Roman civilization. Naturally, the revival of classical letters of the Italian *Rinascimento* captivated him. And, finally, the Romantic movement stirred his imagination. He wrote poetry, loved all forms of esthetic expression, drew with his own hands the forms that stimulated his spirit, composed some music, and dreamed of the artistic glories of Italy. He studied theology from 1837 to 1839, theology of the liberal rationalist sort then prevalent in the seminaries of the established churches. He acquired a good knowledge of the Hebrew language. Next, in 1843 he went to Berlin, at that moment famous for its historical school to which belonged Leopold von Ranke who instilled in him a respect for the systematic exploration of sources. August Boeckh, author of the *Griechische Altertümer,* helped him further along the paths of cultural history. Jacob Grimm's philological skill and interest in mythology gave him a wider scientific basis for his enthusiasms.[3]

[3] W. Kaegi, *Jacobi Burckhardt. Eine Biographie. Band I. Frühe Jugend und baslerisches Erbe* (Basel, 1947); W. Rehm, *Jacob Burckhardt* (Leipzig, 1930); E. Griesbach, *Jacob Burckhardt als Denker* (Bern and Leipzig, 1943).

During all these years the thoughts of Goethe filled his mind. The period of the *Sturm und Drang* with its thoughts about freedom, action without restraints, individualism, tragical experience, life to be lived according to the precepts of nature, dislike for convention left their mark upon him. The great poet's *Italienische Reise,* based upon his visit to Italy from 1786 to 1788, kindled in him also a resolve to behold the splendors of Italy with his own eyes. Burckhardt visited Italy briefly during July and August of 1837. He saw the spacious cathedral of Milan, walked in the Corso di Porta, studied Leonardo's Last Supper. These interested him mightily, and he made a striking freehand drawing of Milan's skyline showing among other objects the outlines of the great cathedral. Next, crossing the Appenines he proceeded to Genoa and finally to Tuscany. Florence filled him with rapture. Fiesole and its slopes moved him to poetic fancy. The sun-bathed hillside, its grey green olive trees, enlivened by the melodious tinkle of church bells along the famed Mugnone from San Domenico to Fiesole and eastward to Monte Ceceri, he pronounced a "godly spot,"—*ein göttlicker Ort!* Deeply moved by what he had observed, this youth of a scant twenty years published his impressions in his *Bilder aus Italien.*[4] Associated with the university at Basel as a lecturer in history, he revisited Italy in 1846, 1847, 1853, and 1854. In 1855 he published *Der Cicerone,* undoubtedly his most widely read book. A veritable inspiration to many, this work must be regarded as one of the forces that have created the vogue of Italian tourism.[5]

Finally, in 1860 Burckhardt published his *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien,* modestly described in the subtitle as *Ein Versuch.* Curiously, this work of the greatest historiographical importance did not immediately have as much success as *Der Cicerone;* and a second edition did not appear until 1869. In time, however, translations were made—Italian in 1876, English in 1878, French in 1885. John Addington Symonds made some laudatory reference to it in the preface of his *Renaissance in Italy: The Age of Despots,* which appeared in 1875. From that decade the book steadily gained favor. Numerous German editions were prepared by Ludwig Geiger. By 1890 *Die Kultur der Renaissance* had won a secure place among the classics of history.[6]

[4] Published in the *Jacob Bruckhardt Gesamtausgabe,* I. *Frühe Schriften.*

[5] *Der Cicerone. Eine Einleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens,* published in the *Jacob Burckhardt Gesamtausgabe,* III and IV.

[6] Werner Kaegi discussed the various editions of this work in *Jacob Burckhardt Gesamtausgabe,* V.

It is scarcely necessary here to dwell upon the contents of this book. The more or less poetic captions of its six chapters are sufficient to indicate its character and the problems they posed for critics. The first chapter discusses the "Staat als Kunstwerk"; the second illustrates the "Entweckung des Individuums"; the third traces the "Wiedererlebung des Altertums"; the fourth bears an even more poetic title—"Entdeckung der Welt und des Menschen"; the fifth deals with "Geselligkeit und Feste"; and the sixth and last, and undoubtedly the least satisfactory, "Sitte und Religion." While for many the interpretations implied by these striking headings were to become authoritative interpretations of Italian culture during the Renaissance, to an increasing number Burckhardt's views needed revision. First of all, the author's interpretation of Italian culture on an esthetic basis injected a problem which lies more clearly in the domain of the metaphysician than within the limits conventionally accepted by historians, but one that cannot be avoided by them. Second, and more important was the bearing exerted upon this interpretation by the extensive researches of historians. The nineteenth century witnessed the most extraordinary activity in the publication of the literary sources of mediaeval civilization. The study of palaeography, diplomatics, ancient institutions, and philology contributed mightily toward the formation of a great school of historians. Avid researchers into the complexities of mediaeval civilization brought forth many discoveries which called for a reconsideration of Burckhardt's leading ideas. A difficult task, for Burckhardt's treatment of late mediaeval culture rested upon an encyclopaedic acquaintance with the life and thought of the Renaissance but also revealed ideas derived from the Italian *Rinascimento,* the Enlightment, Romanticism!

A striking feature of Burckhardt's classic is the relatively static character of his treatment. He gave little heed to the development of Italian civilization during the centuries before the *Duecento.* The only movement in the growth of this culture he seriously considered was the *Wiedererlebung des Altertums* which, as we know, already was a commonplace in the historical thought of the time. Georg Voigt in 1856, four years before Burckhardt published his great work, presented this idea in classic form when he published *Die Wiedererlebung des classischen Altertums.*[7] Burckhardt seems to have had little

[7] G. V. Voigt, *Die Wiedererlebung des classischen Altertums oder das erste Jahrhundert des Humanismus.* 2 vols., 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1893). The first edition appeared in 1856, the second, much improved, in 1859.

interest in the all important element of continuity in late mediaeval culture. His treatment of religion in the sixth and last section of his work clearly suffers from such discontinuity. Little wonder that at these points scholars were to attempt some rectification. What were some of their criticisms, their discoveries, their novel points of view?

To Henry Thode, son-in-law of Richard Wagner and a passionate admirer of mediaeval culture, Burckhardt's treatment of the Middle Ages seemed most faulty. Born in 1857, just three years before the appearance of *Die Kultur der Renaissance,* Thode represented the later romantic zeal for mediaeval culture, especially for Germanic art. Other writers before this had pointed to St. Francis of Assisi as the wellspring of a new ascetic and poetic endeavor.[8] To many writers, especially in Catholic circles, this idea was not exactly a novel one, but with the appearance of Thode's *Franz von Assisi* in 1885 the figure of the saint began to attract attention among a wider group of students.[9] To Thode it seemed that the great soul of St. Francis, overflowing with charity toward his Creator and for all creation that had issued from His hand, required a more understanding treatment than was usually accorded religious themes in the traditional art of the *Duecento.* To give adequate expression to the saint's life it seemed necessary to present him in his Umbrian setting, just as he had lived it on the slopes of Monte Subasio, at San Damiano and the Portiuncula, as his followers loved to portray his life and deeds in the *Fioretti.* Had not his spirit captivated the poor in town and village, kindled in them a new zeal for the faith and the charity it inspired in the hearts of men for their brothers? According to Thode the saint's poetic genius, leavening the lump of Italian life, evoked that consciousness of self among his followers, that emancipation of the individual which resulted in a social as well as a personal liberation!

While Thode's work received considerable attention from the moment of its appearance, it was not until nine years had passed that a veritable enthusiasm for the saint burst forth. Paul Sabatier's biography presented St. Francis in all his humanity.[10] Franciscan

[8] Cf., e.g., E. Chavin de Malan, *Storia di San Francesco di Assisi, 1182-1226* (Prato, 1846), especially pp. 321-342.

[9] *Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst in Italien* (Berlin, 1885). Cf. pp. 69-70 for his point of view; cf. also his *Giotto* (Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1899).

[10] *Vie de Saint François d'Assise,* ed. définitive (Paris, 1931). Valuable also is his essay "L'actualité de la figure de Saint François," *L'Influence de Saint François d'Assise sur la civilisation italienne* (Paris, 1926), pp. 3-20.

research flourished mightily. Thode expanded his original thesis. At first he had spoken of the beginnings of Italian art as being due to the inspiration flowing from the personality of St. Francis. But now Thode held the saint's influence was the basis on which the entire culture of the Renaissance was founded. In the remarkable *Einleitung* to the second volume of his monumental work on Michelangelo, a work which began to appear in 1902, Thode discussed at length his fully developed views regarding the nature of the Renaissance.[11] He held it began with the genius of St. Francis whose spirit transformed painting, sculpture, and architecture, inspired poetic effort from the days of Dante and Jacopone da Todi to the high Renaissance of Tasso and Boiardo, stimulated philosophic thought beginning with Bonaventure, revivified faith and morality, in short refashioned the form and content of Italian Renaissance life. What people were calling the Renaissance Thode regarded as mainly the inspiration of Franciscanism.

As in the case of Burckhardt's entrancing captions, Thode's views raised many questions. In some quarters there has been a tendency to reduce their truth to the barest minimum.[12] But Thode's views have served scholarship in at least two ways. He stressed the continuity between mediaeval and Renaissance culture and helped establish the fact of the special significance of St. Francis in the life and thought of the Middle Ages. Today few writers ignore St. Francis' unique influence. Iconographically at least Franciscan ideas were potent throughout the entire Renaissance.[13] Are we not to see in the art of Giotto something of the spirit of the glorious saint? The *Duecento* witnessed a breaking away from the methods of Italian Byzantine painting and sculpture; in architecture a new school developed. Certainly the genius of Giotto itself may owe little to Franciscan influence, but of such influence on his art there is no reason to doubt. Desiring to paint the saint in his native Umbrian surround-

[11] *Michelangelo und das Ende der Renaissance,* 3 vols. (Berlin, 1902-3). The last volume is in two parts.

[12] H. Baron, "Literaturbericht: Renaissance in Italien," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,* XXI (1931).

[13] M. Carmichael, *Francia's Masterpiece. An Essay on the Beginnings of the Immaculate Conception in Art* (London, 1909); H. B. Gutman, "The Mediaeval Content of Raphael's School of Athens," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* II (1941), 420-429; "Raphael's Disputa," *Franciscan Studies,* XXIII (1942), 35-48, and "The Rebirth of the Fine Arts and Franciscan Thought, Giotto di Bondone," *Ibid.,* VI (1946), 3-29.

ings, to show him as the people knew him through tradition, Giotto was led to break with the stiffness and unnaturalness of the traditional Byzantine methods which at that time dominated Italian painting. He sought to give his pictures corporeality, vigor, adequate movement, and dramatic unity. He proceeded empirically, being led by the desire to reproduce the saint's warm humanity, to solve all the problems involved in the treatment of space and composition. These problems are clearly evident as we scrutinize the frescoes in the upper church of St. Francis in Assisi and in the Arena Chapel in Padua. It makes little difference whether Cimabue showed him the way, whether the Roman Pietro Cavallini contributed his great share of influence, or whether Giotto employed many assistants.[14] In view of the certainty with which we may ascribe the frescoes in the Arena Chapel to the hand of Giotto we need not share the scepticism of certain historians on this point.[15] So excellent an historian of art as Raymond Van Marle unhesitatingly states, referring to St. Francis' charitable life and his religious conceptions, "The effect of these . . . on art may readily be understood, for they directly encouraged the study of nature; the result was almost immediate and the reactions strongly marked."[16] In this opinion he follows Émile Mâle, the distinguished master of the history of religious inconographic representation during the closing centuries of the Middle Ages, who ascribes the pathetic, passionate, and dramatic notes universally present in European art, Italian as well as non-Italian, to the influence of St. Francis.[17] Étienne Gilson has called attention to the fact that this pathetic, dramatic note was expressed in the popular pseudo-Bonaventuran *Meditationes vitae Christi.* According to him the Saviour's crucifixion, constantly in the mind of St. Francis, produced the saint's vision on Alvernia, and the stigmata which accompanied it became the subject of intense contemplation in Franciscan circles. Bonaventure's *Itinerarium*

[14] Minimized by F. J. Mather, *The Isaac Master. A Reconstruction of the Work of Gaddo Gaddi* (Princeton, 1932).

[15] E.g., O. Siren, *Giotto and Some of his Followers,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1917), I, 17.

[16] *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague, 1923), I, 258-259. Cf. also H. Focillon, "Saint François d'Assise et la peinture italienne au XIII[e] et au XIV[e] siècle," *L'influence de Saint François d'Assise sur la civilisation italienne,* pp. 61-82.

[17] *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge en France. Étude sur l'iconographie du moyen-age et sur ses sources d'inspiration,* 3rd ed. (Paris, 1925), pp. 27-34, 85-87, 145-146.

has as its central thought the progress of the soul towards God. "The translation of this new piety into iconography dates from the thirteenth century, expands during the fourteenth, and extends across the sixteenth," wrote Gilson.[18]

While thus Thode sought to establish a clear and natural continuity between mediaeval and Renaissance culture by stressing the importance of Franciscanism, Ludwig von Pastor emphasized the Papacy and the many ramifications of Christian life during the period beginning with the Great Schism. In England Mandell Creighton had, indeed, covered the ground Pastor proposed to exploit. Creighton whose first two volumes of the *History of the Papacy* appeared in 1882 relied chiefly upon chronicles and old printed collections and presented a forthright account of the great problems confronting the Papacy at a time when the modern centralized state was coming into being.[19] Creighton held to the ideas about the Renaissance commonly entertained at the time and he presented no novel theories about Italian life and thought during that age. His finely written account, covering the history of the Papacy from the beginnings of the Great Schism to the sack of Rome in 1527, will long stand as one of the classics in English historiography. Until his day no writer, not even Henry H. Milman, had presented so full, so lively a portrayal of that age. But Pastor's work definitely broke new ground and presented a novel interpretation of the Renaissance.[20] He was the first historian to exploit so fully the vast amount of scholarly material—monographs, longer treatises, and printed documents and others in manuscript. He made abundant use during his long career, which came to a close in 1928, of the libraries of Italy, especially that of the Vatican.

Two opposing tendencies, he held, manifested themselves in the Renaissance, a Christian and a pagan. The former constituted the true, the latter the false Renaissance. To the first belonged Petrarch. Pastor quoted from a letter written by that esthetic, vacillating, con-

[18] E. Gilson, "Saint Bonaventure et l'Iconographie de la Passion," *Revue de l'histoire franciscaine,* I (1924), 405-424; and "Saint François et la pensée médiévale," in *L'influence de Saint François d'Assise sur la civilisation italienne,* pp. 83-98.

[19] First published as *A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation* in six volumes beginning in 1882, later republished under the title *A History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome,* 6 vols. (London, 1897), and repeatedly reprinted.

[20] *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ansgang des Mittelalters,* I (Freiburg im B., 1886).

tradictory character showing that however much Petrarch may have admired classical culture and the writers of antiquity, he held to the superiority of the doctrine of Christ and to all that pertained to it.[21] This is the note of a Christian Renaissance; conflicting with it was the kind of thought expressed by the poetic but sensuous Boccaccio. Opposed to Thode, whose work the writer used with profit, Pastor showed that two contradictory movements dominated the life and thought of the Renaissance. Curiously, Burckhardt, who had neglected the Christian aspects of Renaissance life, supported Pastor's[22] views, writing an enthusiastic letter to the youthful author who published an excerpt of it in the introduction of this second volume. In this letter Burckhardt retreated from his position taken in *Die Kultur der Renaissance* and seemed to support Pastor's novel views without reserve in spite of his very different views expressed in *Die Kultur der Renaissance.*[23]

What was the nature of humanism? Pastor had grouped its devotees into two schools, Christian and pagan. But this did not sufficiently explain the phenomenon, according to Ernst Walser.[24] This Swiss scholar, following in the footsteps of Pastor, noted the Christian character of many of the humanists of Italy. He believed, like Petrarch, that the gospel of Christ stood supreme, no matter how keen their appreciation of classical culture. How could two such contradictory positions be held? Walser argued that the vogue of classical study was a kind of fad, a hobby which in no wise touched the faith of humanists. He showed how even the most worldly of these people like Poggio Bracciolini and Lorenzo Valla adhered to the Christian pattern of life.

But even Walser could not remain satisfied with this facile view of humanism. We know it was much more than a fad; surely the philological aspect of humanism, with its feverish search for the manuscripts of classical literature, the eager study of the Church Fathers as, for example, in the case of Erasmus who eagerly studied St. Jerome, cannot be reduced to the level of a mere hobby, no matter how defective

[21] *Lettere di Francesco Petrarca delle cose familiari* (tr. by G. Fracassetti), (Florence, 1864), II, 112-113.

[22] Pastor discussed his standpoint in the *Einleitung* of his first volume, pp. 1-63.

[23] This excerpt may be found in Volume II, 18-19, unfortunately omitted in later editions, also in the English edition.

[24] E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke* (Berlin, 1914), Volume XIV of the *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance.*

such study may have been from the standpoint of modern scholarship. By 1924 Walser had come to believe with Thode that a new feeling toward nature had appeared among the men of the Renaissance, a kind of mystical sentiment colored by a variety of religious ideas.[25] The conception of a Christian humanism, already in the air and ably supported by Walser, impressed students of a generation or more ago.

In spite of such studies, however, the question how the new and striking ideas which constituted what is commonly called the Renaissance rose in the mediaeval environment, continued to press for an answer. Konrad Burdach, a scholar of amazing erudition, presented a novel theory during the 1890's.[26] Secularization in life and thought, at least in certain quarters of Italian society, was an obvious fact; but the question was how to explain its rise. Fixing his gaze upon the *Duecento* as Thode had done, Burdach believed that the zeal for revival, renovation, and rebirth, universally present in mediaeval aspiration, suffered a gradual secularization, especially after 1200. There was a mingling of religious ideas of regeneration with secular political elements. After the passing of St. Francis in 1226 such a mingling was obvious in the thought of Joachim of Fiore,[27] Dante, Petrarch, and especially Cola di Rienzo.[28] With indefatigable industry he searched the vast realms of mediaeval literature for words implying revival, or Renaissance. Commingled secularization and religious zeal produced the *humanitas* of the *Trecento, Quattrocento, and Cinquecento.* Basically his arguments were enlightening but not entirely acceptable. There had been revival ideas aplenty in former ages; the zeal for renewal, for example, had been common enough among the Stoics in classical times. Philological studies, no matter how suggestive and necessary, cannot fully reveal to us the whole content of the culture of an age.

Karl Borinski followed Burdach's example but in a very different manner. Once entered upon the search for the ideas of renewal during the early years of the Renaissance, scholars might seek for illustrations of how the idea of a revival of Rome survived all the mediae-

[25] E. Walser, *Gesammelte Studien zur Geistesgeschichte der Renaissance* (Basel, 1932).

[26] K. Burdach, *Reformation, Renaissance, Humanismus,* 2. Auflage (Berlin, 1926).

[27] H. Bett, *Joachim of Flora* (London, 1931).

[28] P. Piur, *Cola di Rienzi. Darstellung seines Lebens und seines Geistes* (Vienna, 1931).

val centuries. This proved a fecund procedure in which Borinski with a prodigious wealth of learning succeeded in showing that such revival ideas were patent facts all through the Middle Ages. For example, our mediaeval forebears were charmed by Vergil's Fourth Eclogue. The Renaissance with its secularism was a manifestation of the spirit of revival that men had long cherished when recalling the grandeur of Rome. The element of religion was minimized; and it was at this point that Borinski parted company with Burdach and the tradition established by Thode and Pastor. There was a continuity between mediaeval and Renaissance culture, but it was not religious.[29]

In Germany neo-romantic ideas stimulated research and reflection which as we look back after the lapse of more than a generation appear to have been influenced by the spirit of nationalism. The philosophic Hegel held that in the Renaissance there was, indeed, a revival (*Erwachen*) of the human spirit which produced a considerable flowering of the arts and sciences. But the excessive individualism observable in many Renaissance characters in Hegel's estimation militated against all that was best in the achievement of the age. That best was most effectively expressed in the Protestant Revolt, central leader of which was Martin Luther. With him began the true expression of the spirit—the realization of the highest self, politically, socially, intellectually, and above all, morally. A vast school of writers during the next two generations glorified Luther whose spirit, it was thought, emancipated mankind from mediaeval asceticism, killing routine, dead tradition.

Toward the close of the century some of these scholars, drawing their inspiration from Thode, regarded the Religious Revolt as the true revival, a renovation, inaugurating the development of personality as described by Thode. Paul Wernle, a Swiss historian, believed that the Swiss break with Rome was the best realization of these reforming forces. To substantiate his position Wernle sought to show that the true spirit of religious reform among Italian humanists of the *Quattrocento* was the connecting link between what Thode regarded as the original causal influence and the Swiss movement carried out by men like Oecolampadius and Zwingli and also German reformers

[29] *Die Weltwiedergeburtsidee in den neueren Zeiten.* I. "Der Streit um die Renaissance und die Entstehungsgeschichte der historischen Beziehungsbegriffe Renaissance und Mittelalter," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* (Jahrgang, 1919).

V.
194

like Luther, Butzer, and Capito.[30] Other scholars were emphasizing the connection between Florentine humanists like Manetti and Pico, Colet and More, and Erasmus. But vigorous voices were raised against this line of thought; for example, Hermelink in 1906 insisted that Florentine Platonic humanism made slight impression north of the Alps. In fact, the humanism of northern Europe was essentially independent of the Platonism current in Florence under the Medicis. The biblical humanism of the north was but the combination of the Catholic reforming movement of the Great Schism and the councils. Compared with it, the pagan Renaissance of life and thought in certain Italian circles was of slight constructive importance.[31] Such a point of view was adopted by many a scholar; for example, by Paul Mestwerdt who produced a suggestive study of Erasmus in which he contrasted Florentine Platonic humanism with the *devotio moderna* of the Low Countries, both decidedly distinct and independent phenomena.[32]

As early as 1906 Ernst Troeltsch, seeking to produce some synthesis of the many studies being made of the Renaissance and Religious Revolt and of the relation between the two, produced a noteworthy article on the significance of Protestantism in modern culture. He, too, continued the views of Thode and his followers, insisting on the primacy of religion in the development of that full personality, which he regarded as constituting the basis of modern individualism. The renewal of the human spirit during the Renaissance was the result of a break with mediaeval religious tradition—with a weakened regard for the hereafter and a decline of concern with the sacraments of the Church. In political and economic life the closing centuries of the Middle Ages witnessed a rupture with ecclesiastical ethics. Untrammeled thought followed the weakening of Aristotelian and Scholastic philosophic authority; Giordano Bruno, Galileo, Campanella represented the new freedom. The aristocratic courtly culture of the Renaissance, emphatically enamored of the gold and azure of classical antiquity, widened the rupture. But it was the Religious Revolt

[30] P. Wernle, *Die Renaissance des Christentums im 16 Jahrhundert. Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge auf dem Gebiete der Theologie* (Tübingen, 1914); and *Renaissance und Reformation. 6 Vorträge* (Tübingen, 1912).

[31] H. Hermelink *Die religiösen Reformbestrebungen des deutschen Humanismus* (Tübingen, 1907).

[32] P. Mestwerdt, *Die Anfänge des Erasmus: Humanismus und Devotio Moderna* (Leipzig, 1917).

that really renewed man's sense of relationship with the hereafter, gave rise to a new expression of this relationship in the theologies and the churches of the Reformation. As for the idea of emancipation from the bondage to mediaeval forms commonly expressed in the tradition of Burckhardt, the fulll development of the completely unencumbered man of the Renaissance, freed from Christian ethics, developed not during the Renaissance, but during the Enlightenment. Thus did Troeltsch stress the continuity of mediaeval thought which came to an end in the Enlightenment. What many people ascribed to the Renaissance really, according to Troeltsch, was first realized in the Enlightenment.[33]

This brings us to a brief consideration of the contributions made by nationalist sentiment to the problem of the Renaissance itself. A riot of nationalism overwhelmed Europe during the nineteenth century, and it is not surprising that nationalist interpretations were given to the idea of the Renaissance. In France Emile Gebhart as early as 1879 followed the teaching of Burckhardt, but within a few years adopted some of the views of Thode and even developed them.[34] He held, for example, that a 'religious renaissance' had renewed the inner life of the Italian people and had taken possession of it. But the 'rationalism' of the Ghibelline south soon colored this dominant Franciscanism, thus driving the Italian people on toward their liberation from the fetters of an effete past.[35] But Gebhart especially interested himself in the relations between France and Italy during the age of the Renaissance.

This culture of Europe outside Italy proved a fertile field for investigation. Neglected, even despised, its art and philosophy failed to attract its just share of attention. Nevertheless, Jules Michelet in his *Histoire de France au moyen-âge* which treated the mediaeval centuries in the new romantic fashion had shown genuine enthusiasm for

[33] E. Troeltsch, "Die Bedeutung des Protestantismus für die Entstehung der modernen Welt," *Historische Zeitschrift*, XCVII (1906), 1-66; and "Renaissance und Reformation," *ibid.*, CX (1912), 519-556.

[34] "La Renaissance italienne et la philosophie de l'histoire. La théorie de Jakob Burckhardt," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, LXXII (1855), 342-379; *Les origines de la Renaissance en Italie* (Paris, 1879).

[35] *L'Italie mystique; histoire de la Renaissance religieuse au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1890). An English translation appeared under the title *Mystics and Heretics in Italy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London, 1922). Cf. pp. 132-33 for the author's views on this point; cf. also his *Rabelais: la Renaissance et la Réforme* (Paris, 1877).

mediaeval culture. He admired Flemish art; Van Eyck's *Mystic Lamb* he believed was "le pivot de l'histoire de l'art."[36] It may be doubted that Michelet really understood this masterpiece, but his enthusiasm was a sign that the art of Flanders would not always remain neglected and despised.

The earliest romanticists effusively admired the masterpieces of the Middle Ages; certainly they failed to understand them in their cultural context. But Viollet-le-Duc's success in tracing the organic development of Gothic architecture showed what could be done in the way of producing intelligible explorations of cultural phenomena which former generations had disdainfully ignored as the product of ignorance and superstitution.[37] Van der Schayes (d. 1859), independently of Viollet-le-Duc (1814-79), produced an instructive study of Gothic architecture in Belgium.[38] Finally, during the last decade of the century Louis Courajod, in his lectures at the Ecole du Louvre, boldly traced the great contributions Flanders and France had made to art. According to him the true Renaissance of art was to be found in Flanders and northeast France. In that art he found the purest naturalism which he believed was the hallmark of the Italian Renaissance.[39] This Franco-Flemish Renaissance had subjected Europe to a tutelage in art as early as the fourteenth century. The disastrous Hundred Years' War had interrupted this influence. Meanwhile the art of Italy, which in the days of Giotto and Duccio had displayed such magnificent naturalism, was abandoned to that imperious sway of ancient classical influences interrupting the natural tendency of her art.[40] According to this view the art of the Renaissance had not revived, nor had the art of classical antiquity recreated it.

Courajod and the people who followed him had an inadequate conception of Flemish art. They were scarcely aware of the fact that a magnificent school of miniaturists of French and Flemish origin had flourished for at least two centuries before the days of Michel-

[36] *Histoire de France au moyen-âge*, VII, livre XII, ch. II, a quotation Michelet borrowed from Goethe.

[37] E. E. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle*, 10 vols. (Paris, 1858-68).

[38] A. G. B. Schayes, *Histoire de l'architecture en Belgique depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à l'époque actuelle*, 2 vols., 2d ed. (Brussels, 1853).

[39] J. Huizinga, "Renaissance und Realismus," *Wege der Kulturgeschichte* (Munich, 1930), pp. 140-64.

[40] L. C. J. Courajod, *Leçons profesées à l'école du Louvre, 1887-1896*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1899-1903).

angelo.[41] They had slight acquaintance with the art of Jean Fouquet whose career in France extended over most of the last half of the fifteenth century.[42] Nor did they have the benefit of the monumental studies of Emile Mâle on the iconographic features of late mediaeval art from 1200 to the close of the Middle Ages.[43] Nevertheless, limited as was their acquaintance with Flemish art, they knew enough about it to launch an effective criticism against the overly simple idea that with the flourish of art in the Italian *Quattrocento* the plastic arts revived due to classical influences.

One of Courajod's followers carried criticism much further. In 1893 Marcel Reymond drew a clear distinction between earlier Renaissance Italian art which he declared was naturalistic, and the later which suffered from the tyranny of classical forms, especially in the high Renaissance in Rome.[44] His views found a sympathetic audience, and other writers began to find in mediaeval French cultural forms numerous antecedents of the Renaissance. What Symonds had regarded as a decisive and positive influence in the formation of Renaissance art in the estimation of Reymond and others really was a handicap, something that cut short the rigorous realism exhibited by Flemish and French artists to the very end of the Middle Ages. The revival of classical forms in Italy begining with the *Quattrocento* had blighted the realism which had flourished so brilliantly in the work of Giotto and Duccio. The deleterious influence of classical forms in the art of the high Renaissance as developed in Rome diverted French and Flemish art from its true path into a vogue of classical tastes.

Thus French writers minimized the influence of classical antiquity on the formation of French and Flemish art before 1500 and sometimes even deemed it insignificant as a creative force. The extent to which such ideas were cultivated is well illustrated in the work of Johan Nordström. According to him a definite continuity could be shown to have existed between the culture of the Middle Ages and

[41] H. Martin, *La miniature française du XIII^e au XV^e Siècle*, 2^e ed. (Paris, 1924); P. Durrieu, *La miniature flamande au temps de la cour de Bourgogne, 1415-1530*, 2^e ed. (Paris, 1927).

[42] P. Wescher, *Jean Fouquet and his Time* (Basle, 1947).

[43] A. Vermeylen, *Geschiedenis der Europeesche Plastiek-en Schilderkunst*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam, 1921-25).

[44] M. Reymond, "La sculpture florentine au XIV^e et au XV^e Siècle," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, IX (1893), 353-73; X (1893), 307-32; XI (1894), 119-29; XII (1894), 391-404.

that of the Renaissance.[45] To show the paternity of later French Renaissance culture he stressed the originality of French culture of the twelfth century, giving generous attention to the effects of the crusades, the significance of scholarship and letters in the France of the twelfth century, the immense contribution of scholastic philosophy—whether Platonic or Aristotelian in its inspiration—the greatness of the chivalric romances, the *fabliaux* and *Reynard the Fox,* the heritage of realism shown in Flemish art by the Limburg brothers, the Van Eyck brothers and their followers, and the extensive French influence exerted upon Italian culture especially before the *Quattrocento.* The chief element in Renaissance culture was the mediaeval; the classical in comparison was less important.

In Germany where a nationalist zeal burned even more brightly than in France it, too, appeared that the classical element in Renaissance culture had been overstressed. Carl Neumann denied the Italian Renaissance was *die Mutter der modernen Kultur.* Byzantium, which existed as a cultural entity down to 1453 in the middle of the *Quattrocento* when Florentine art and other Renaissance forms were adopting classical forms, had always possessed these forms. There Attic Greek was spoken, Greek letters were read, Plato was studied. Greek artistic forms, especially classical sculpture, could be seen by everybody, at least as late as the Latin conquest at the time of the fourth crusade. Yet Byzantine culture failed to flourish, let alone perpetuate itself. In Italy a revival of classical art was said to generate a new art, inaugurate a renaissance. Clearly, there was something wrong about the conventional idea made classical by Burckhardt. It was not the example of classical antiquity that inspired the blossoming of artistic forms in Italy during the *Quattrocento.* Its cause had to be found elsewhere; Neumann boldly declared that the vaunted freedom of the Renaissance drew its strength from mediaeval forces, *aus Barbarenkraft, aus Barbarenrealismus, und aus dem christlichen Mittelalter.*[46]

Neumann's interpretations naturally evoked criticism, for example, by August Heisenberg who with an equal show of learning declared classical antiquity had, indeed, played a significant, though different

[45] J. Nordstrom, *Moyen-Age et renaissance. Essai historique* (Paris, 1933).
[46] C. Neumann, "Byzantinische Kultur und Renaissance Kultur," *Historische Zeitschrift,* XCI (1903), 215-232.

ST. MARY OF THE SPRINGS
COLLEGE LIBRARY

role in Byzantium than in Italy.[47] Neumann's views, however, bore fruit. He had stressed the contribution of the new groups who created mediaeval culture. That he was thinking of the German race seemed certain, for did he not write: "Für Italien weiss jeder, dass die klangvollsten Namen italienischer Geschichte, Dante Alighieri und Garibaldi, langobardisches Stammes sind."[48] Lombardy had, indeed, received during the folk migrations a plentiful infusion of Germanic stock. Ludwig Woltmann in 1905 produced a remarkable book which identified the mediaeval barbarians with Germanic peoples. With much industry, with the help of over a hundred illustrations he attempted to show that all creative figures of the Renaissance in Italy, or at least an overwhelming majority of them, bore irrefutable evidence in their faces of Germanic blood.[49] This champion of the notion that culture is determined by race could readily be shown to be at fault. For example, few if any Renaissance cultural products were brought forth in Spoleto and Benevento, regions in which German invaders successfully established themselves.

These French and German studies had at least one common result —they destroyed the barrier scholars had erected between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Both were agreed that mediaeval culture was a continuous thing extending into the Renaissance. German scholars, following the teaching of Thode, if they did not succumb to racial and nationalist prepossessions, believed the Renaissance was the result of a profound renewal, indeed, a German rebirth. French writers, on the other hand, stressing the continuity of French mediaeval and Renaissance culture, could not forget their Latin antecedents and claimed a good share in the primacy in Renaissance culture which since Burckhardt's great work all ascribed to Italy.

But a great problem remained; if the chasm between mediaeval and Renaissance was erased, just what was the relation between classical culture and the renewal of Renaissance man? In a sober and charming survey Karl Brandi without exaggeration stressed the importance of St. Francis and sought to give full recognition to the originality of the Italians.[50] Walter Goetz in a fine study endeavored to trace

[47] A. Heysenberg, "Das Problem der Renaissance in Byzanz," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXXXIII (1926), 393-412.

[48] C. Neumann, "Byzantinische Kultur und Renaissance Kultur," p. 226.

[49] L. Woltmann, *Die Germanen und die Renaissance in Italien. Mit über 100 Bildern* (Leipzig, 1905).

[50] K. Brandi, *Die Renaissance in Florence und Rom. Acht Vorträge*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1903).

the continuity of classical forms in mediaeval life in three stages: until the twelfth century such influences were limited, essentially pedagogical; next, until about 1250, they began to cause some ferment, for example, in the study of Roman jurisprudence at Bologna, the rediscovery of Aristotle, and the beginnings of scholastic philosophy; and third, after 1250 they became a great force; passing beyond the limits of jurisprudence, philosophy, and theology they were accepted blithely as creating new visions in arts and letters. Thus was saved the honor of mediaeval achievement while much of the teaching of Burckhardt could be retained.[51] Friedrich von Bezold held that antique forms persisted during the mediaeval centuries until the thirteenth century, after which their vital forces dried up and could not vivify the life of the next centuries which accordingly sprang from other native forces.[52] Like him Fedor Schneider, in a book now become famous, traced the survival of classical forms which had survived the deluge of barbarian invasions during the fifth century but finally perished, having lost all power as we note in the futile endeavor of Rienzi to recall to life something of ancient political independence that once had made Rome great. The old classical spirit was dead beyond resuscitation. A new culture was born in the town centers of northern Italy. But its inspiration was far different; the new forms sprang from a new life, and signified a new civilization—the Renaissance—which sprang from inner native forces and not so much from a revival of classical Greek and Roman models.[53]

In Italy also the spirit of nationalism colored studies dealing with the problem. The stirring events of the *Risorgimento* culminating in the unification of Italy and the memory of the stagnant societies of the *ancien régime* in Italy perforce left their mark upon Italian conceptions of the Renaissance. Like many an Italian patriot of the *Risorgimento,* Bertrando Spavento was deeply moved by the forces that were bringing forth a new Italy. Adopting the philosophy of Hegel, he viewed the achievement of the Middle Ages from the standpoint of the Enlightenment, naturally failed to understand it and regarded mediaeval culture as an unproductive age. Reasoning like

[51] W. Goetz, "Mittelalter und Renaissance," *Historische Zeitschrift,* XCVIII (1907), 230-254; and "Renaissance und Antike," *ibid.,* CXIII (1914), 237-259.

[52] F. Von Bezold, *Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalterlichen Humanismus* (Bonn, 1922).

[53] F. Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter. Die geistigen Grundlagen der Renaissance* (Munich, 1926).

Hegel, he thought the Middle Ages passed into a new creative age. But unlike Hegel, Spavento held this age was not the Religious Revolt in which man attained a new freedom, the work of a renewed science, literature, philology, philosophy, and statecraft. It was in the *Rinascimento* that this new summit was attained, and in the *Rinascimento* the Italian people had acquired a cultural primacy among the people of Europe, inaugurating a renewal of civilization among all Europeans. Instead of a continuity of culture between mediaeval and Renaissance culture, as was taught north of the Alps by German and French scholars, Spavento held there was no such direct cultural continuity, only a metaphysical one after the fashion of Hegelians.[54] It is apparent Spavento had learned much from Burckhardt. His work, placing Italian *Rinascimento* culture in the very center of European civilization, serves, as it were, as a pendant to Burckhardt's *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien.*

Spavento's conceptions, striking as they were, apparently attracted little attention outside Italy where the labors of French, German, and other north European scholars seemed all-triumphant. But with the opening of the twentieth century his ideas suddenly had a new lease of life. Giovanni Gentile extended Spavento's theory of the leadership of Italian thought, which had been limited almost entirely to philosophic thought, to include every aspect of Renaissance achievement. Mediaeval civilization had led men into miserable, hopelessly stultifying forms, fruitless science, and metaphysics. Against the institutions of that time, particularly the universities and the Church, which destroyed all possibility of man ever becoming a creative agent, the new man of the Renaissance developed. He became wholly unencumbered by the restraints of the bygone age, morally and culturally self sufficient, creating out of the infinite resources of his soul, independently of economic or social environment, the forms of art, poetry, letters, and science. Of unspeakable grandeur, they possessed a finality that made them eternal. The creative genius of Leonardo and Michelangelo seemed to Gentile immortal, even rivaling the divine. After World War I Gentile's exaggerated conceptions became the basis of a new historiography quite in keeping with the tenets of fas-

[54] B. Spavento, *Rinascimento, reforma, contrariforma e altri saggi critici* (Venice, 1928); *Carattere e sviluppo della filosofia italiana del secolo XVI sino al nostro tempo* (Naples, 1901).

cism.[55] Benedetto Croce, while following in the Hegelian tradition as interpreted by Spavento, viewing the Renaissance as the spring of modern civilization, broke with Gentile's brilliant but subjective interpretations. After Gentile's death and the ruin of fascism his ideas suffered eclipse.

The study of social history during recent years has yielded fruitful results in giving us a better understanding of the character of the Renaissance. Such study demands that we form an adequate acquaintance with its physical environment, in this case the peninsula of Italy, a country of much diversity. Next we must study the complex biological basis of the life of the age, vastly more difficult because human beings have far-reaching rational powers, act within wide limits of free will, and live in families by which alone they can maintain their existence. Further, a social environment of great complexity came into existence. From the standpoint of production there are agricultural communities like Savoy, towns supported entirely by commerce like Venice, towns which derived their sustenance more especially from industry like Lucca, Florence, and Milan. Some towns like Venice traded with most of the then known world, others enjoyed commercial relations with most parts of the Mediterranean. Also there was a striking diversity of states each exhibiting a variety of social structures, economic and political organization. And, finally, there was a complex set of long established traditions such as a common language and intellectual development, the Christian religion with its dogmatic and practical theology and its elaborate art. To set forth all these physical, social, and intellectual circumstances is an arduous task. Such investigation was scarcely thought necessary by the earlier scholars who fixed for succeeding generations the traditional concept of the Renaissance.

Although Karl Marx apparently never studied what Burckhardt termed the Renaissance, he nevertheless published a theory by which he sought to explain the phenomena of that age. In 1848, twelve years before the publication of *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*, he and Friedrich Engels proclaimed in the *Communist Manifesto* their theory of the cause of all cultural forms, to wit, the dominant form of production determines the social, political, and intellectual processes in general. In mediaeval times Marx held that feudalism had been

[55] G. Gentile, *Studi sul rinascimento* (Florence, 1936), *and El pensiero Italiano del rinascimento* (Florence, 1940).

the chief organization of society. Toward the close of the Middle Ages it was replaced by the bourgeoisie. Both were systems of tyrannical exploitation. The bourgeoisie "wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations." But "for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation." This, according to Marx, was the chief characteristic of the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and doubtless the numerous changes in painting, sculpture, literature, science, religion, and politics are to be regarded no more than incidental consequents of this transition from feudal to bourgeois organization.

At no place does Marx reveal an adequate knowledge of feudalism, nor could he have revealed such, seeing the state of historical scholarship on such subjects during the 1840's. Hence he refers to a "feudal system of industry." He fails to distinguish between the political character of feudalism and the manorial organization of the time and appears to have believed feudalism was universally prevalent in mediaeval Europe. Nor does Engels display a better knowledge of feudalism, although his *Anti-Dühring,* in which he employed language about feudalism identical to that of Marx and himself in the *Communist Manifesto,* appeared many years later in 1877. This sweeping theory, based upon an utterly materialistic conception of civilization, cannot possibly account for the kaleidoscopic activity of the age we call the Renaissance.

Sociological studies of the Renaissance, in spite of an ever growing interest throughout the second half of the nineteenth century in social questions and in the study of social history, did not, however, begin to appear before the opening of this century. Such study aiming to encompass the totality of man's activity presents extraordinary difficulties. As a free agent man creates his culture in the midst of physical surroundings which in themselves are most complex. This culture is an organized way of life and is conditioned partly by material physical surroundings. But at the same time it is based upon a common tradition, something especially complex as it consists in an accumulation of thought, habit, technique, and organization. To assume that a simple principle of causality derived from the study of the physical sciences can be applied to these essentially human phenomena will never unlock their secrets. These phenomena may be studied historically, philologically, from the standpoint of law and politics, or viewed as the activities of social organs. But all these

acts are contingent phenomena depending upon the free activity of man; they cannot be reduced by the methodology of positivist scientific study; they cannot be predicted; they can be understood in retrospect, but only with difficulty.[56] To study them effectively we are led into the deep stream of ethics, metaphysics, and finally into the problem of religion.

In spite of the clamant abuses of social relations during the latter half of the nineteenth century, no scholar from the time of Burckhardt until Werner Sombart seriously studied the sociological aspects of Italian history during the Renaissance. The question that intrigued Sombart was how the life and thought of the town dwelling people of Italy took on a manner of life which appeared more adapted to a money than to the older manorial economy.[57] Others followed him as, for example, Friedrich Engel-Janosi who in 1924 materially advanced upon Sombart's views to a better understanding of the subject.[58] Fedor Schneider believed these moral and economic changes were due to the influence of free German Lombards who were able to maintain some of their freedom though settled among the estates of the late Roman Empire inhabited by unfree colons.[59] For this view, however, it appears impossible to deliver any proof.

Could not the secularism, colored with rationalism, which rose in certain parts of Italian society be explained by the political, economic, and social struggles of the *Duecento* and *Trecento?* The study by Bernard Goethuysen of the spirit that animated bourgeois society in France in early modern times is a good example of this type of scholarly endeavor.[60] Years ago Emile Gebhart thought a new rationalist spirit had spread in Italy through the influence of the Hohenstaufen court of Frederick II. That lay, secularist thought throve in the court of Naples and Sicily cannot be doubted; whether the lay and secularist thought in the towns of north Italy, especially Florence, was derived from Neapolitan and Sicilian government circles is a question. Did this type of thought thrive especially among the section of Florentine population known to be Ghibelline in sympathy and policy? Robert

[56] E. F. Calden, *The Power and Limits of Science. A Philosophical Study* (London, 1949).

[57] W. Sombart, *Der Bourgeois. Zur Geistesgeschichte des modernen Wirtschaftsmenschen* (Munich, 1920).

[58] F. Engel-Janosi, *Soziale Problemen der Renaissance* (Stuttgart, 1924).

[59] F. Schneider, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

[60] B. Goethuysen, *Origines de l'esprit bourgeois en France,* 3rd ed. (Paris, 1927).

Davidsohn, the erudite master of Florentine history, argued such, indeed, was the origin of the rationalist enlightenment that became apparent in Florence during the *Duecento* and the *Trecento*. Ostensively this enlightenment prepared the way for much of what later was to become distinctive in the secularist culture of Florence.[61] But this view, as soon as published, was challenged, rather cogently it appears. A goodly portion of the Florentine citizenry, following Guelf traditions lived in opposition to the Ghibellines. Florentine Guelfs, it was thought, were the real founders of the lay, secular traditions of Florentine life.[62] At this time also Ernst Mehl, in a study of the attitudes of Giovanni Villani as revealed in his noted chronicle, sought to illustrate the vogue of secularist thought among Florentines. Villani, a wealthy Florentine merchant, according to Mehl, shared the traditional attitudes but at the same time appears to have drifted away from the popular religious practices of the Florentines of the day. But Villani was a devotee of astrology. Does this indicate a decay in his religious convictions? Whatever we may think of his belief in astrology surely it cannot prove a tendency towards a rational enlightenment which many had assumed constituted the chief characteristic of the Renaissance—the 'birth of individualism' and the 'discovery of the world and of man.'[63]

But it was Alfred von Martin who more fully than any of these scholars outlined the general sociological conditions which seemed to determine the culture of Italy from the *Duecento* on. For years he had written on various aspects of Renaissance life and finally in 1932, published his *Sociology of the Renaissance*. This study, little more than an outline, is divided into three parts. The first, entitled "The New Dynamic," briefly sketched the role of the new town-dwelling class and their novel attitudes toward thought, art, learning, and life in general. In the second, "The Curve of Development," he sought to show how "The impetus of the bourgeois individualist dynamic set in motion a cultural process which traced a curve beginning with an abrupt rise and, after reaching its culmination, flattening off gradually." And finally, in the third he discussed "Renaissance Society and

[61] R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1896-1927).

[62] H. Baron, "Literaturbericht. Renaissance in Italien," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XXI (1931), 124-128.

[63] E. Mehl, *Die Weltanschauung des Giovanni Villani. Ein Beitrag zur Geistesgeschichte Italiens im Zeitalter Dantes* (Leipzig, 1927).

the Church."[64] This study, unfortunately limited to but ninety-two pages, presents an all too brief treatment of the enormously complex achievements of the Renaissance. It presents the aspects of an outline in which the details upon which the argument rests are left out. To discuss the author's propositions, therefore, even if space were available, would be difficult. But we may call attention to several points. Today certainly we are acquainted with the growth of mediaeval towns and the expansion of trade and industry during the later Middle Ages, not only in Italy, but also in other parts of Europe, especially in the Low Countries. It were strange, indeed, if these transformtaions did not have consequences in the attitudes of the people toward art, letters, politics, learning, letters, to life itself.

It appears difficult to associate changing artistic vogues causally with social changes, at least to the extent the author would have us believe. For example, he states "The art of the Early Renaissance, being the art of the rising bourgeoisie, was full of realism, vigor, and tension. It was the art of a period in which the large middle class was in profound agitation and filled with the urge to achieve a new social order. This urge had its counterpart in the dynamic of the new art. It was popular and democratic, because in its tendency towards realism it aimed at reproducing immediate reality" (p. 62). The author obviously is referring to the work of Giotto. To us, however, this view appears difficult to substantiate. The art of Giotto shares in the effort at realism so widely observable in Gothic art. In Flanders realism was a dominant note in the whole school begining with the miniaturists through the Van Eyck brothers down to Memlinc. In the *Heures de Milan* the Van Eycks painted the religious scenes in the most realistic fashion possible.[65] For a long time miniaturists of the Flemish school had been executing scenes, in books of prayer and non-devotional books alike, with the utmost realism.[66] The Van Eyck

[64] A. Von Martin, *Soziologie der Renaissance. Zur Physiognomik und Rythmik bürgerlicher Kultur* (Stuttgart, 1932). An English translation *Sociology of the Renaissance* appeared in London in 1944. The references in this paper are to this edition.

[65] G. H. De Loo, *Heures de Milan, troisième partie des très-belles heures de Notre-Dame enluminées par les peintres de Jean de France. Duc de Berry et ceux du Duc Guillaume de Bavière, Comte de Hainaut et de Hollande* (Brussels, 1911).

[66] H. Martin, *Joyaux de l'illuminure à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Brussels, 1928).

brothers produced a whole series of portraits the equal of any produced in Italy during the *Quattrocento* until the passing of Piero della Francesco.[67] In Gothic art there was potentially as much room for the artistic rendering of purely secular themes as well as religious.

Giotto's art was a highly original burst of creative achievement. The environment in which he produced those extraordinary frescoes in the upper church at Assisi dealing with the life of St. Francis was saturated with aristocratic ideals. His patrons wanted pictures to perpetuate the memory of the incomparable saint, and Giotto painted for them the saint as all people of whatever station had known him. And as we study the cycles of the life of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Arena Chapel in Padua we note the same ideas directing the artist's hands.[68] Certainly this art was popular in that it portrayed the saint as he once walked on the hills of Umbria. But this artistic art transcended all limited interests; it was the artistic form of that *res publica christiana* which embraced all men of that time. Individual expression there was plenty, from Giotto to the Van Eyck brothers, Roger Van der Weyden, and Hans Memlinc; but all shared in its general artistic representation. This art was essentially aristocratic, at least in the Low Countries as Professor Huizinga has well shown.[69] To apply to it the term 'democratic' injects a political note which surely was not in harmony with the bourgeois populations of the Low Countries or Italy. Further, this 'democratic' art flourished in the most undemocratic places; in the aristocratic courts of Mantua, Ferrara, and Urbino, also amid the aristocratic town dwelling masters of Venice.

Von Martin, in spite of the reservations he brings forward, stresses social causes (based for the most part upon economic change, it should be noted). In the last section of his book entitled "Renaissance Society and the Church" he holds that the "power of money" had undermined morality when men believed themselves "emancipated from all tradition." He declares that during the Renaissance "religious and moral values had almost ceased to be worth the paper that they were written on in an age when economic, intellectual, aesthetic ones alone

[67] E. Durand Greville, *Hubert et Jean Van Eyck* (Brussels, 1910).

[68] A. Moschetti, *Giotto. La Cappella degli Scrovegni e gli affreschi in esso difinti* (Florence, 1947).

[69] J. Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen. Studie over Levens en Gedachtenvormen der 14de en 15de Eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1919).

counted" (p. 77). One cannot restrain the question how far such declension from the faith of former days is true, to what extent the old spirituality survived. That there was more of it among the people, in the religious houses, and even among the so-called emancipated aristocratic groups at the courts and among the upper classes in the towns appears certain. Were it not so, the Catholic Reformation could not have succeeded so mightily, something which cannot be explained as a "stabilization" by artificial interference, as the author appears to believe (p. 77). The Catholic tradition of Christianity survived the sapping influences of Renaissance secularism, the storms of the Protestant Revolt, and the hostility of the new absolute state, thanks to the spirituality which continued in the mind and hearts of the people.[70] Here we come upon an all-important theme, one neglected for a long time, but one in recent years receiving much attention. All students of the Renaissance, of course, were acquainted with the noble pedagogical practice of Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua, the group of pious humanists such as Giannozzo Manetti in Florence, the fiery Savonarola, the devout reformer Pope Adrian VI,[71] the Oratory of Divine Love, and the devotion of zealous lay folk like Vittoria Colonna. Here, as at every moment in the history of the Renaissance, it is important to grasp the things that are continuous, things that must be understood if we are to grasp the new whether better or worse.

Concerning the influence of Franciscanism during the Renaissance the case is clear. We need not follow the opinion of Henry Thode and ascribe to it all Renaissance thought and activity. Within its limits which, indeed, are spacious enough, the force of Franciscan spirituality is evident throughout the entire period. Today an attempt is being made to accomplish something like it for Dominicanism. Certainly St. Catherine of Siena deserves to be studied, especially in her Sienese setting, for was she not a spiritual contemporary of Duccio whose art can properly be compared with Giotto's? So far as Dominican iconography and popular art are concerned the case is clear, for an abundance of pictures by a variety of artists have treated the life of St. Dominic and his followers very much like the paintings in the tradition of Franciscanism.[72] Cartier's book on Fra Angelico, excel-

[70] H. S. Lucas, "Survival of the Catholic Faith in the Sixteenth Century," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXIX (1943), 25-52.

[71] G. Pasolino, *Adriano VI. Saggio storico* (Roma, 1913), chapter XI.

[72] G. Kaftal, *Saint Dominic in Early Tuscan Painting* (Oxford, 1948); and *Saint Catherine in Tuscan Painting* (Oxford, 1949).

lent as it was from the standpoint of the painter's interior and his most important life, apparently never was read even by the experts in spite of the fact it appeared in an English version in 1865.[73] Today Fra Angelico's art admittedly ranks with the best paintings of the middle of the *Quattrocento*. Belatedly the study of his interior life has attracted attention, for without such study the secrets of the spirit that moved his brush cannot be grasped.[74]

Far from being limited to folk living in monasteries, this kind of Renaissance study is engaging the attention of laymen and secular clergy. A recent book on Michelangelo shows the great importance of that artist's religious life.[74] Especially promising is the work undertaken since the war under the direction of Giuseppe De Luca who with the help of an imposing list of scholars is publishing a series of volumes containing studies on spirituality, also some important texts, under the general title *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*. A subsidiary collection under the title *Uomini e dottrine* contains a series of studies of significant masters of spiritual exercise during the Renaissance. Reprints of influential spiritual writings are being published under the general title *Temi e testi. Raccolta di testi su temi spirituali.* And, finally a series broader in scope as its volumes deal with the wider aspects of the Renaissance including some studies on spirituality, is being published under the title *Storia e letteratura. Raccolta di studi e testi.*[75] Fortunately, this ambitious program is more than a pious hope, for a considerable number of volumes have already appeared. Soon we may expect more exhaustive accounts dealing with the literature and practice of devotion.

Beyond the borders of Italy similarly a considerable interest is shown toward this subject. This is of paramount importance, for only through a study of their spiritual literature can the life and thought of the people in northern Europe, particularly in the Low Countries be understood. Much has been written on the far reaching influence of

[73] E. Cartier, *Life of Beato Angelico da Fiesole of the Order of Friars Preachers* (London, 1865); P. Bargellini, *La pittura ascetica del Beato Angelico* (Florence, 1949).

[74] M. Saponaro, *Michelangelo* (Milan, 1947). The publisher's jacket, besides the title, carries the sub-title, *Un genio all ricerca di Dio,* which might well have been put on the title page.

[75] The address of this house is Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Palazzo Lancellotti, Via Lancelloti 18, Roma.

the Brethren of the Common Life.[76] Since 1925 the Ruusbroec-Vereeniging has published a remarkable review dealing with the literature of piety in the Netherlands during mediaeval and early modern times down to about 1750. This society also has published some important texts, among others, a good edition of the letters of Gerard Groote; and a complete edition of Ruysbroeck's works is being projected.[77]

Let it not be supposed these scholarly efforts are of but local importance. A broad vision is guiding these projects, one that includes the innumerable manifestations of the *corpus mysticum Christi.* Hence the publication recently initiated, of a journal dealing specifically with this subject, not only with the spirituality of the Low Countries but of all Christendom.[78] Soon we may expect larger treatises, fuller and more satisfactory from the standpoint of the historian of civilization than the reliable but all too brief work of Pourrat.[79] Such short works dealing with a limited aspect of the problem as that of St. Axters seem to presage a flood of books on this much neglected subject.[80] Soon we may hope to place on our shelves extensive studies beside the great works of E. Allison Peers[81] and Henri Brémond.[82] Then we shall be able to study sympathetically the various expressions of these themes in the life of the people of Italy, the Low Countries, Spain, and France. Then we shall grasp more clearly the nature of late Renaissance culture, particularly its religious life, its art, letters, philosophy, and statecraft.

University of Washington

[76] A. Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance, A History of the Devotio Moderna* (Grand Rapids, 1924).

[77] *Ons Geestelijk Erf. Studien over de Nederlandsche Vroomheid van af de Bekeering tot circa 1750. Bezorgd door de Ruusbraec-Vereeniging* (Tielt, Belgium, from 1927 ff.).

[78] *Sacris Erudiri. Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen* (Karel Beyaert, Bruges). Volume I appeared in 1948.

[79] P. Pourrat, *Christian Spirituality in the Middle Ages* (London, 1924) and *Christian Spirituality. Later Developments.* I. *From the Renaissance to Jansenism* (London, 1927).

[80] St. Axters, *La spiritualité des Pays—Bas* (Louvain, 1948).

[81] E. A. Peers, *Studies of the Spanish Mystics,* 2 vols. (New York, 1927-30); *Mother of Carmel, a Portrait of St. Teresa of Jesus* (London, 1946).

[82] H. Brémond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours,* 11 vols. (Paris, 1929-35).

SOME CATHOLIC TORIES IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. II.

By
CHARLES H. METZGER

(Continued from October, 1949)

Apparently Rawdon and his men continued to linger near New York in expectation of orders to move to a new field of operations, although a report on the strength of the armed forces in New York on February 19, 1780, does not list them. At the same time deserters from Washington's forces who came into the British lines were assigned to Rawdon's regiment by Lieutenant Cockburn.[101] St. Patrick's Day was, as usual, made the occasion of feasting and revelry. *Rivington's Gazette* revealed[102] that a "munificent entertainment" was given by Colonel Lord Rawdon to his men quartered at Jamaica, Long Island, one feature of which was the singing of Barney Thompson, the piper of the regiment. And Hugh Gaine's New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*[103] added that the occasion was characterized by the "Wonted Conviviality," consisting of a "most elegant Breakfast and Ball" given by "the Amiable Society of Friendly Brothers of Saint Patrick" to all officers of the armed forces and gentlemen of the city, followed by "many entertainments" in the afternoon, and concluded at night with "all the real Jocundity which ever distinguished that brave and generous Nation, Great Britain's beloved Sister."

But the comforts and jollity of New York were about to yield to the privation and wounds of battlefields in the South. A week after the "entertainment" on St. Patrick's Day the deputy adjutant-general, Frederick Mackenzie, tabulated the Prince of Wales American Volunteers, the Queen's Rangers, the Volunteers of Ireland, and the Regi-

[101] January	27	Neil Campbell,	Crane's Artillery	Scotchman
February	6	Thos. Keeling,	9 Penn.	Irishman
"	"	Peter Cubb,	10 Penn.	German
"	"	Terence Grimes,	10 Penn.	Irishman
"	"	Henry Rothes,	10 Penn.	Englishman
"	20	William Cavin,	7 Penn.	Irishman

[102] Frank Moore, *op. cit.*, II, 261-262, quoting *Rivington's Gazette*, March 18, 1780.

[103] New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, March 20, 1780.

ment de Dittfurth as scheduled for embarkation,[104] and on April 1[105] he lists the Volunteers again, this time with detailed figures and data. And Robert Walter, agent, assigns them, 512 strong, to three vessels, the *Springfield* 319 tons, *Houston* 258 tons, *Selina* 231 tons, all to be recognized by a "White vane and Red Ball Main."[106] They seem to have left New York under the command of Major General Matthew with their destination still shrouded in doubt.[107] What day they actually sailed from New York and when they put ashore at Charleston we do not know with certainty,[108] but the commissary-general, G. Townshend, reports that provisions to the amount of £6-14-2 were issued to them in South Carolina between February 24 and April 24, while in the two following months they increased to £7-1-0.[109] Upon their arrival in South Carolina they were pressed into active service, for Cornwallis wrote to Clinton on April 24[110] that the previous night he had crossed the Cooper River with eight companies of the Volunteers of Ireland, while the remainder of the corps and other troops were to join him by night.

The change from barracks life in New York to field duty in South Carolina appears to have been too abrupt for some of Rawdon's men.

[104] Clinton Papers, Embarkation return of the following corps, New York, March 25, 1780.

[105] *Ibid.*, Embarkation return of the following corps, New York, April 1, 1780.

[106] *Ibid.*, Transports under orders. . . .

[107] "Kemble Journal," p. 177, "destination supposed some part of the Chesapeake or Delaware River, and intended as a diversion to favor the progress of General Prevost's movements in Carolina." Fitzpatrick, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 299. Washington to Lt. Col. John Laurens, April 26, 1780.

[108] Griffin, *op. cit.*, I, 349, tells us that "they embarked on April 4, and set sail on the 7th reaching Clinton's camp before Charleston, on April 21, 1780," but he gives no source for this statement. Diligent search of the Clinton Papers fails to substantiate Griffin's dates. . . . In his Diary Captain Johann Ewald observes: April 19 [1780], "In the afternoon we received the good news that a fleet of twenty-four sail had arrived here [Charleston] from New York in eleven days, that it had on board reinforcements consisting of 2,600 troops, artillery, ammunition, and stores. . . . This corps is said to be made up of the 42nd Regiment, Brown's Corps, the Volunteers of Ireland, the Queen's Rangers, and the Hessian Regiment von Dittfurth, pp. 63-65. And for the 23rd he adds: "The 42nd Regiment, the Queen's Rangers, and the Volunteers of Ireland joined the army today," p. 67. Bernhard A. Uhlendorf, transl. and edit. *The Siege of Charleston* (Ann Arbor, 1938).

[109] Clinton Papers, Abstract of the amount of provisions issued. . . .

[110] *Ibid.*, Cornwallis to Clinton, April 24, 1780.

At any rate, as early as April 30 three of them, James Salmon, Willie Neile, and David Vance found themselves in the provost's camp in Charleston upon capture in the rebel force after desertion,[111] and at the end of the third week of May "Ja. Jones, Jno. Butler, Jno. Beckham and Jo. Fenerty" had been "taken in arms with rebels."[112] In the gaol in New York about this time John Black guilty of desertion, and William Parks charged with robbery, awaited trial, while Thomas Kelley still awaited execution for assaulting and robbing Sergeant Notzer of the Hessian Grenadiers.[113] Regimental interests included Rawdon's desire that Captain Barry resign and be replaced by the second lieutenant, an arrangement sanctioned by Clinton.[114] And Rawdon in "camp at Camden" must have been gratified when Charles Valancey notified him that, as officers could no longer hold double commissions, he resigned his ensigncy in the 16th infantry regiment so as to retain his lieutenancy in the Volunteers.[115] A month later Rawdon forwarded the resignation to Andre.[116] That Rawdon's solicitude embraced the common soldier is attested by his letter to Andre from "camp at Silk Hope Plantation" in behalf of "Voluntier Bagby Breton" who had literally missed the boat when the regiment left New York.[117] Lest this misadventure prejudice Breton's chances for preferment Rawdon explained to Andre that Breton had not been informed "that all Volunteirs were expected to attend you," for the officer charged with broadcasting the information was prevented by illness from "delivering him the intimation." Apparently Breton's predicament was shared by others.

Sickness claimed victims in a steady but not in an alarming increase, for while May 6 found two in the hospital at Charles Town Neck, a week later there were eight and on May 20 thirteen were patients.[118] Patrick Barrett, admitted to the hospital on May 19,

[111] *Ibid.*, Report of prisoners confined in the provost's camp off Charleston, April 30, 1780.

[112] *Ibid.*, Return of prisoners confined . . . May 21, 1780.

[113] *Ibid.*, Weekly state of the provost at New York, June 19, 1780; June 30, 1780.

[114] *Ibid.*, Queries of Andre with autographed answers by Clinton [May, 1780].

[115] *Ibid.*, Charles Valancey to Lord Rawdon, May 5, 1780.

[116] *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Andre, June 5, 1780.

[117] *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Andre, May 20, 1780.

[118] *Ibid.*, Return of sick and wounded . . . April 30-May 6; May 7-13; May 14-20, 1780.

died six days later.[119] Still by and large the Volunteers prospered, for official returns on May 15 credit them with 537 rank and file, a number considerably in excess of all other provincial regiments in South Carolina and Georgia.[120] It should be noted, however, that only 270 are put down as present and fit for duty since 193 were absent on commissions or recruiting,[121] nineteen were prisoners and fifty-five were sick.[122]

The recent regulation which had prompted the decision of Charles Valancey mentioned above raised a knotty problem for Rawdon who began a letter to Andre[123] with the remark that the commander-in-chief thought it proper that he choose between his rank in the line and his provincial commission. Rawdon deemed this unfair. Had not Clinton himself in 1778 conceived the idea of "raising an Irish regiment?" Was public utility or private advantage furthered by Clinton's scheme? Was not Clinton mindful of the "principle" on which Rawdon adopted the plan and invariably pursued? Rawdon then rehearsed the story of the origin of the Volunteers in substantial agreement with Clinton's letter to Germain which we have discussed in detail. Rawdon lamented that he had come upon evidence of suspicion that personal advantage accrued to him from his command; he boasted about the completeness, discipline, spirit, and equipment of the regiment, all the fruit of his expenditures and attention. Now he is asked to dissociate himself from a group of men who look to him for leadership, or to give up the service on which his earliest efforts and all of his hopes were centered. The circumstances of his case were unique and they should have been weighed. Confronted with the dilemma he felt that the regiment "raised upon my faith" com-

[119] *Ibid.*, Return of patients that died in His Majesty's General Hospital between May 21 and 27, 1780.

[120] *Ibid.*, State of the Troops under the Command of Lt. Gen. Rt. Honble Charle Earl Cornwallis, May 15, 1780.

[121] *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Andre, June 5, 1780, "adjutant Keene . . . will have the honor of delivering this letter. I have obtained Earl Cornwallis' permission to send him to New York, that he may regulate some business of consequence to the Regit."

[122] Comparison with various corps in New Jersey is revealing, for the ratio of total effective and "fit for duty." E.g., the British 54th Reg. had 373 with 270 fit for duty, the British 82nd 387 with 311 fit, the King's American Regiment 345 with 200 fit, the Loyal American 335 with 187 fit, the British 57th 384 with 313 fit.

[123] Clinton Papers, Rawdon to Andre, May 21, 1780.

mands his loyalty, and hence he resigns his lieutenant colonelcy in the line though that is tantamount to being "divorced for ever from my Country."

Within a fortnight Rawdon's cause was espoused by Clinton. Writing to Germain,[124] the commander-in-chief announced Rawdon's resignaton of his regular commission. In fairness to both Rawdon and the king's service Clinton observed that Rawdon's expenses and his zeal in building up his corps make him "worthy much Commendation and make the alternative put to him a very mortifying one," while the Volunteers, if bereft of such a leader and father are apt to decline in strength and efficiency. Would His Majesty "for the good of His service and the Preservation of a very serviceable corps" restore him to the rank he had resigned? To this inquiry Germain replied[125] that the general rule recently imposed was not meant to affect the "Brevet Rank" of any officer who had been honored with such promotion, nor was it intended that the commander-in-chief should not be at liberty to deviate from it in extraordinary cases such as those of Rawdon and Majors Simcoe and Tarleton. In view of Rawdon's merit and the advantages to be derived he should continue to command his corps, but Clinton should inform him immediately that he is likewise to retain his rank of lieutenant colonel in the army.

It should be recalled that both Clinton and Rawdon had animadverted upon the frequency of desertion from Washington's forces. In time, when many of these deserters found their way into the British lines they were assigned to provincial corps, from which in turn not a few deserted. To check this leakage of manpower the two officers had conceived the plan of incorporating all such recruits into one group, and cultivating, if possible, an esprit de corps. The result was Rawdon's Volunteers of Ireland. But desertion was endemic; it occurred even in New York where Edward Warren, a drummer in the Volunteers, on a warrant signed by the commander-in-chief, was executed on August 30, 1779, for "desertion and serving in a Rebel Privateer."[126] Later as the British moved deeper into South Carolina this chronic propensity developed into such a rash of deser-

[124] *Ibid.*, Clinton to Germain, June 3, 1780.
[125] *Ibid.*, Germain to Clinton, July 4, 1780.
[126] *Ibid.*, List of executions . . . May 6, 1782.

tions[127] that Rawdon flew into a towering rage and in panic issued a proclamation savage beyond belief. From his headquarters at Camden[128] he admonished a certain Major Rugely that deserters in such numbers were passing with impunity through the districts under the major's jurisdiction that it was obvious that the inhabitants connived at, if they did not actually facilitate, their escape. Rawdon warned that if attachment to the king failed to induce people to "check a crime so detrimental to the service" he must resort to severe measures towards everyone guilty of such criminal neglect of duty. Accordingly whipping, incarceration, or deportation to the West Indies await all who harbor or assist deserters. Then follows the order so shocking in its inhumanity—"I will give the inhabitants ten guineas for the head of any deserter belonging to the Volunteers of Ireland; and five guineas only if they bring him in alive. They shall likewise be rewarded though not for that amount for such deserters as they may secure belonging to any other regiment." This insane decree is a significant footnote to Clinton's characterization of Rawdon's relation to his regiment as "fatherly." Rawdon would rue these wild threats. Still another form of disaffection troubled the soul of Rawdon—South Carolinians "from the Wacsaw, and the settlements on the frontier," though put on parole, did not scruple to join General Sumpter's forces.[129]

By August 1, 1780, the British forces in South Carolina numbered 6,589,[130] with provincial troops so numerous that the deputy inspector-general was asked[131] to forward to Charleston "Cloathing and Camp Equipage" for 3,000 men. Together with the 23rd and 33rd infantry regiments the Volunteers were located in and about Camden in huts

[127] O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 193, says, "In the summer of 1781, Lord Rawdon . . . took his Volunteers of Ireland from Camden to the Savannah River, and on the march they passed through the Irish settlements in the Chester and Newbury districts where he lost more than half of his effectives through desertion. This incident is referred to by Joseph James, a Virginia member of the Continental Congress, in a letter to George Washington on August 6, 1781, in which he said: 'Rawdon's troops had been reduced about half by the march to Ninety-Six.'"

[128] Cecil B. Hartley, *Heroes and Patriots of the South* (Philadelphia, 1860), pp. 130-132. Rawdon to Major Rugely, July 1, 1780.

[129] Sir Banastre Tarleton, *History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781* (Dublin, 1787), p. 119. Extract of a letter from Lt. General Cornwallis to Sir Henry Clinton.

[130] Clinton Papers, State of the Army, August 1, 1780.

[131] *Ibid.*, August 2, 1780.

ST. MARY OF THE SPRINGS
COLLEGE LIBRARY

"of proper materials to resist the hot weather," and they participated in the hide-and-seek tactics which characterized the war in this region. In reporting the condition and disposition of his men Cornwallis proposed an advance into North Carolina with various regiments of regulars and provincials, among them the Volunteers of Ireland,[132] but before this plan could be realized Rawdon's men were to have their first real baptism of fire because both British and American forces were converging on Camden for a major trial of strength. On the night of August 15 Rawdon's regiment could boast one colonel, four captains, four lieutenants, six ensigns, one mate, twenty-three sergeants, eleven drummers, no chaplain, and 253 rank and file ready for action, a goodly complement as comparison with other groups reveals.[133]

For his part in the battle of Camden on August 16 Rawdon, who led the British left wing consisting predominantly of provincial detachments, was singled out by Cornwallis in the official report for "distinguished courage and ability,"[134] and not without reason, for of the Volunteers seventeen privates were killed and sixty-four wounded, while casualties among officers included Lieutenant Gillespie, Ensigns Whatley and Thompson, two sergeants and one drummer all wounded. Since the Volunteers lost eighty-seven men and total British casualties were 324, the battle of Camden, so disastrous to the Americans under Gates, testified to the success of Rawdon's efforts to make his unit an efficient fighting force.

While the Volunteers were still nursing the wounds received at Camden an internal difficulty of serious character came to a head. A bitter feud between two officers, Lieutenant Colonel Wellburne Ellis Doyle and Captain William Barry was brought into the open. The latter informed Clinton[135] that he was retiring from the service because of injuries and ill usage from "Messrs Doyles," including personal insults, keeping him "out of his subsistence" and withholding his companies' abstracts for eight months. Rawdon, according to Barry, with some knowledge of particulars had proposed that he would receive 100 guineas for his commission, an arrangement approved by Clinton, but the purchaser had neglected to pay the money.

[132] *Ibid.*, Cornwallis to Clinton, August 6, 1780.

[133] *Ibid.*, Field return of the Troops under the command of Lt. General Earl Cornwallis on the Night of the fifteenth August, 1780.

[134] *Ibid.*, Cornwallis to Germain, August 20, 1780.

[135] *Ibid.*, William Barry to Clinton [August 26, 1780].

Would Clinton now issue an order for payment? Would he also grant Barry's request for "Bat and Forage" for 1778 and the current year? In conclusion Barry maintained that the wrongs he suffered were too numerous and "almost too painful to be expressed" in his communication.

On his part Doyle notified William Keen[136] the adjutant of the Volunteers that he was to ascertain where Captain Barry lodges and apprise him of his "arrest at large" and forthcoming trial by court martial on his arrival in South Carolina, the principal charges being disobedience to orders, insolent and contemptuous conduct towards his commanding officer, and publicly making ungrounded and infamous charges as well as threats against his lieutenant colonel. Advance warning was given to Barry, so Doyle observed, that he might prepare his defense. Doyle followed up this announcement to Keen with two notifications to Andre.[137] How the squabble ended is uncertain. While this storm was raging in distant South Carolina a certain Thomas Blockley, described as "an inhabitant," found himself in prison in New York, at the instance of Major General Patterson, "for defrauding the corps of Volunteers of Ireland to the amount of £4000."[138] In this case, too, we do not know the outcome.

After Camden illness in the form of fever beset the British forces to such an extent that Cornwallis moved from Camden to the more salubrious air of Waxhaw Creek.[139] The commander himself was stricken and became so debilitated that Rawdon was deputed to conduct official correspondence. Accordingly, late in October from his "Camp near Indian Land West of the Catawba River" he advised Major General Leslie[140] that Cornwallis was still indisposed, uprisings were epidemic, Major Ferguson had been defeated and killed, enemy cavalry was active in a country unknown to the British, and that under the circumstances concerted action by Leslie and Cornwallis would be difficult to effect. Less than a week later, with Cornwallis still ill, Rawdon enlightened Clinton on the situation in South Carolina,[141] went into detail as to how it developed, enlarged on the dangers that menaced the British, and proposed plans for extrication.

136 *Ibid.*, Wellbore Ellis Doyle to (Wm.) Keen, August 27, 1780.
137 *Ibid.*, Doyle to Andre, August 27, 1780; August 28, 1780.
138 *Ibid.*, Weekly state of the provost, August 28, 1780.
139 *Ibid.*, Cornwallis to Germain, September 19, 1780.
140 *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Leslie, October 24, 1780.
141 *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Clinton, October 29, 1780.

About this time, too, some twenty of the Volunteers, invalids it would appear, were embarked under Major General Bose, but whether for Europe or elsewhere we cannot say.[142]

Early in November the storm broke over Rawdon's letter to Rugely which had decreed such extreme measures against civilians. In some way this communication came into the hands of the Americans who, while largely indifferent to the fate of deserters from Rawdon's ranks, made capital of Rawdon's threat to deport non-combatants to the West Indies. Against this wanton disregard of rights and infliction of hardship Washington protested to Clinton; and when a transcript of the letter was intercepted by the British "in a Rebel Mail," Clinton interrogated Cornwallis[143] as to whether the letter was actually written by Rawdon or a forgery perpetrated by the enemy. In turn Rawdon found himself under obligation to explain to his immediate superior. Writing from Camden on December 5,[144] Rawdon avowed the authorship of the controverted letter, but insisted that its contents had been misconstrued. He recalled that after Cornwallis took Camden the Volunteers were sent to Waxhaw in the belief that as they were "an Irish corps" and the people of the district were "universally Irish and universally disaffected," they would be received "with better temper." Despite his benign attitude towards the inhabitants and the perfect discipline of his men which should have conciliated the people, he had proof that men who frequented his camp were not only in constant communication with the rebels at Charlottesburg, but they also "use every artifice to debauch the minds of my Soldiers" and induce them to desert, even aiding them in the attempt. A return to Camden failed to diminish this tide in desertions. Now the inhabitants at Waxhaw disclaimed all allegiance to the king and some of them, as prisoners of war, had given their parole to remain peaceably on their plantations. Nevertheless they aided deserters. As his numbers, originally small, were reduced by illness and he was in the midst of enemies and since the troops were in bad spirits because of the climate and the restraints imposed on them for the protection of the people, Rawdon had threatened deportation to the West Indies as a measure of self defense, justified he believed by the circumstances. In conclusion Rawdon gave his in-

142 *Ibid.*, Embarkation returns . . . New York, November 4, 1780.
143 *Ibid.*, Clinton to Cornwallis, November 5, 1780.
144 *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Cornwallis, December 5, 1780.

terpretation of why Washington had made so much of the threat. One can only observe that the original estimate by Cornwallis and Rawdon of the spirit and temper of the people had proved to be grossly at variance with the facts. The completeness of Rawdon's illusion was stressed by Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton when he wrote in retrospect of the campaigns of 1780 and 1781.[145] While he charged that the inhabitants violated their parole without scruple he acknowledged that so completely did the sentiments of the people belie Rawdon's expectations that the latter discovered that the "Irish were the most averse of all the settlers" to British rule in America.

Was Rawdon actually so reduced in strength at this juncture as to be in extreme peril? Did his men desert *en masse* and were his losses through sickness so great as to decimate his regiment and justify such extreme measures? Fortunately, we are able to check his strength and his losses. In General Clinton's headquarters' papers there are four army reports for the period, the first for September 1, just two weeks after Camden, by the deputy inspector-general of provincial forces; the second for December 15 by the deputy adjutant-general; a third for January 1, 1781, by Oliver De Lancey; and a fourth for January 31 by Alexander Innes, inspector-general of provincial forces. Among commissioned officers the only noteworthy change is a decline from seven captains in September to just one in January while staff officers shrank from five to two, the chaplain and surgeon among others disappearing by December.[146] As these reports adhere to a general pattern a tabulation and comparison is easy and instructive.

	Sept. 1	Dec. 15	Jan. 1	Jan. 31
rank and file and fit for duty	243	321	328	286
absent on commission and recruiting	66	51	45	27
prisoners	25	23	23	23
sick	199	100	101	144
total effectives	565	542	547	539
establishment	612	.....	.....	.....

In the light of these figures Rawdon's laments seem exaggerated and only a pessimist would scent extreme danger. We may presume that Cornwallis would be accurate and impartial in regard to the regi-

[145] Lt. Col. Tarleton, *A History of the Campaign of 1780-81 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London, 1787), p. 86.

[146] There were four chaplains with the troops in South Carolina.

ments under his command. At no time does he comment on the poor health or weakness of the Volunteers, but in a report to Clinton just before Camden, as we saw, he remarked that the 71st Regiment of regulars was seriously reduced by sickness.

Early in February, 1781, Rawdon notified Lieutenant Colonel Balfour[147] that he would set out from Camden "in a couple of hours to clear the lower Country," and during his absence Lieutenant Colonel Doyle would be in command of Camden. Whether the organized military forces of the enemy or the guerrillas or the disaffected inhabitants were the object of his quest he did not say; and the punitive expedition led to no serious clash, for in March Rawdon was in Camden and from that place he advised Clinton that he could only report operations "of two inferior a nature to interest" the commander-in-chief.[148]

Army returns initialed by Adjutant-General Oliver De Lancey are strangely identical for March 1, March 15, and May 1, 1781; and this sameness raises the question of their trustworthiness. At any rate, according to these multiple reports commissioned officers of the Volunteers number twelve, but staff officers are reduced to a single mate. Rank and file present and fit for duty are 339, an increase of fifty-three over January 31; only fourteen are absent on command or recruiting; the number of prisoners is unchanged; the sick are fewer by thirty-four, the wounded nine less; total effectives have risen to 542, and seventy are wanting to complete. By and large then Rawdon's men increased in total number and in effectives in the first four months of 1781 and their health improved.

On the vexed question of permanent rank for officers of provincial corps, and half pay on the prospective reduction of their regiments, Clinton heard from Germain early in March.[149] In this communication Germain averred that departure from the rule in the case of the Volunteers of Ireland was in part due to the circumstance that though many of the officers of the regiment "were neither Americans, nor had property or connections in the Country," the merit of the corps and Rawdon's "particular recommendation" were also determining factors. In March, too, Cornwallis advised Germain[150] that his plan

147 Clinton Papers, Rawdon to Lt. Col. Balfour, February 7, 1781.
148 *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Clinton, March 23, 1781.
149 *Ibid.*, Germain to Clinton, March 7, 1781.
150 *Ibid.*, Cornwallis to Germain, March 17, 1781.

for the past winter campaign had projected the penetration of North Carolina while he left Rawdon with a considerable body of troops on the defensive in South Carolina. At the same time Cornwallis informed Clinton[151] that on January 9, he had promoted Lieutenants Henry Munro, Charles Valencey, and Charles Bingham, Ensigns Thomas Flynn, James Thompson and John Wilson, Volunteers Bailey Breton, Abel Harris, and a man designated simply as Dowling, all of the Volunteers of Ireland, and he sought confirmation of his act. In this instance Rawdon's men are designated the 2nd American Regiment or Volunteers of Ireland.

As the operation of Cornwallis involved the dividing of his forces when he was in a hostile country and far from his coastal base he has been subjected to severe criticism for this move. If he advanced could he return? If left alone would Rawdon be safe? Actually Cornwallis was courting disaster when, after being frustrated in his efforts to bring Greene to bay for a decisive engagement, late April found him at Wilmington, North Carolina, while Rawdon still tarried at Camden, South Carolina, more than 170 miles away. Not only were the British lines of communication and supply over-extended and exposed but replacements for Rawdon's forces were impracticable. Moreover, Greene's lieutenants knew every foot of the country while the British knew only the main features. Still more menacing to the British was the fact that the American defeat at Camden had led to the removal of General Gates and the substitution of Greene, a master of strategy who adopted the policy of attrition through guerrilla warfare. In reality, as events proved, Cornwallis in splitting his army was setting the stage for the final phase of the war and heading towards eventual disaster at Yorktown.

In comparative security at Wilmington Cornwallis began to entertain grave fears for Rawdon's safety when intelligence agents brought word that Greene appeared to be massing for an attack. Echoes of the earl's misgivings are found in a letter of April 23 to Germain[152] in which he confessed that he had tried in vain to notify Rawdon of his unavoidable withdrawal to Wilmington, a move which made Rawdon vulnerable. However, Rawdon had learned in good time of Greene's approach, and Cornwallis' estimate of Rawdon's ability and

[151] *Ibid.*, Return of officers appointed by the Rt. Hon. Earl Cornwallis, . . . March 22, 1781.

[152] *Ibid.*, Cornwallis to Germain, April 23, 1781.

caution was such that he felt assured that the latter would not "lose any considerable corps." But a less sanguine note appeared in a report to General Phillips in Virginia penned the very next day,[153] wherein the earl voices his grave concern over Rawdon's position, for "mountaineers and militia" have gathered, and Rawdon's posts are so scattered that there is danger that he may be beaten in detail with consequences disastrous to "most of the troops out Charles Town." Furthermore, such a distance separates Cornwallis from Rawdon that relief even by direct route is precluded, and, should Rawdon fall, the earl's army will be exposed to the utmost danger because of "the great Rivers I should have to pass."

Two days later on April 25 occurred the clash of arms that Cornwallis had dreaded. At Hobkirk's Hill the forces of Greene and Rawdon joined in battle. At the end of the engagement Rawdon penned to his superior the laconic note "Excuse my scrawl, my dear Lord for I am overcome with fatigue." [154] History regards the battle of Hobkirk's Hill as a British victory, but it was a costly triumph. The Volunteers of Ireland in particular suffered heavy losses. Lieutenant Jewell, a sergeant, and eleven rank and file lost their lives; Major Campbell, Lieutenants Moffatt and Black, two ensigns, five sergeants, and sixty-five privates were wounded; while a drummer and ten privates were reported missing—a loss of ninety-nine men.[155] As total British casualties numbered 251 the losses of the Volunteers reveal that as at Camden they played a distinguished role in the engagement. In reality the victory, if such it may be called, was truly pyrrhic, for Greene's forces while beaten were not destroyed, British losses were high, and replacements out of question in a hostile country far from coastal bases. The wily Greene could bide his time and attack again under favorable circumstances.

Cornwallis, however, with a fatuousness truly astonishing, was slow to take effective steps to extricate Rawdon and his associates from their parlous situation. He assured Clinton[156] that he was relieved "from most cruel anxieties" by Rawdon's success, observed that the latter's "great abilities, Courage, and firmness of mind, cannot be sufficiently admired and applauded," and did nothing.

[153] *Ibid.*, Cornwallis to Phillips, April 24, 1781.

[154] *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Cornwallis, April 25, 1781.

[155] *Ibid.*, Returns of the Killed, Wounded, Missing. . . . The 63rd regiment lost fifty-one men.

[156] *Ibid.*, Cornwallis to Clinton, May 20, 1781.

Apparently Rawdon's extreme fatigue continued. At any rate, a month after the battle Clinton was still requesting "a report of the victory over General Greene."[157] The fact is that Rawdon was now a very sick man, scarcely equal to the rigors of a campaign. Moreover, on the heels of Hobkirk's Hill there developed a situation that caused the commander-in-chief no little anxiety,[158] the possibility, namely, of Rawdon being superseded in his regiment by other officers, his seniors in service; and Clinton realized full well that as they could not possess "the knowledge requisite for conducting operations in Carolina," without service in that area, they could not equal in competence a man such as Rawdon with a background of local experience. In short, the campaign in the Carolinas might bog down completely. These misgivings he laid before Cornwallis.

Within a week of Clinton's observations to his subordinate an entirely new aspect was given to the situation when Rawdon, writing now from Charleston, acknowledged receipt[159] of the commander-in-chief's favorable reply to an application for leave to go to Europe because of ill health. Gratified as the commander of the Volunteers was by the favor, and most grateful for Clinton's comments on his "endeavors to serve my country," he voiced his appreciation of the encomium. But although his health had been bad for some months he saw little prospect of being able to quit the country while his men were deep in the forests and swamps of South Carolina. Thus a well earned leave of absence hung fire.

Relations between Rawdon and the commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in America appear to have been very cordial, and this spirit is echoed even in official correspondence, for example, in the letter of Clinton to Rawdon, dated New York, July 13, 1781, in which the general extends his "warmest thanks" to his subordinate and to the officers and men under him for their conduct at Hobkirk's Hill. In Clinton's words it was Rawdon's "Judicious and Spirited exertion most critically made when Greene was in a detached State," that saved South Carolina for a time. In appreciation Clinton ordained that, so long as Rawdon's health permitted, he should remain in Carolina to conduct all operations "without the Cooper and Ashley." For this purpose Clinton commissioned him brigadier general,

[157] *Ibid.*, Clinton to Balfour, May 24, 1781.
[158] *Ibid.*, Clinton to Cornwallis, May 29, 1781.
[159] *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Clinton, June 6, 1781.

"junior to Colonel Gould." In the area designated Rawdon should take charge of operations unless Cornwallis should decide to send Lieutenant General Leslie or Brigadier O'Hara. If, however, Rawdon's health should preclude activity, and he should avail himself of the leave of absence recently granted, Clinton wished him "bon voyage" and speedy re-establishment of the health impaired by his "meritorious Exertions in this Country."

Although they could not have known it at the time active participation in the war was, with two exceptions ended for the Volunteers of Ireland and their commander. Cornwallis' fatal advance into Virginia reduced pressure on the British units in South Carolina inasmuch as Washington and his aides concentrated on bagging the bigger quarry at Yorktown. Since under the circumstances retention of the scattered posts in the South served no military purpose withdrawal was decided upon, but Greene harried retirement at every turn. On June 19 Rawdon relieved a beleaguered British garrison at Ninety Six[160] and retired at once with the men he had rescued. Another major clash would occur at Eutaw Springs on September 8, after which the regiments which Cornwallis had left in South Carolina would seek safety in or near Charleston. The subsequent inactivity of the Volunteers of Ireland may account for Oliver De Lancey submitting identical reports for the regiment under dates of August 1, October 1, November 1, and December 1.[161] These returns testify to the prosperous condition of the regiment, the total effectives of which now numbered 547, with only sixty-five "wanting to complete."

Rawdon was a very sick man. As a true soldier he may have wished to contribute further to the cause, but he was far removed from the chief focal point of danger and he was too ill for active service. Word of his condition spread and as early as August 6 we find Joseph Jones informing Washington[162] that "by the last flag which left Charles Town on Thursday last week" we learn that Lord Rawdon is in the city "much indisposed but bound soon for England." On August 13 Rawdon took leave of America[163] and within a week

[160] Gould to Clinton, September 30, 1781.

[161] *Ibid.*, State of the army. . . .

[162] Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Letters of Joseph Jones* (Washington, 1889) pp. 85-86.

[163] Clinton Papers, Nisbet Balfour to Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart, August 12, 1781. "Rawdon embarks tomorrow."

he was a prisoner of the French.[164]

Both before and after his embarking for England Rawdon's name figured in a bitter controversy over the treatment of prisoners of war. When a certain Colonel Haynes of the militia was made prisoner and later hanged, an acrimonious correspondence ensued between General Greene and various British military authorities in the Virginia-Carolina area. Neither the circumstances of the case nor Rawdon's involvement in it are too clear, but Greene, who regarded the execution as downright murder, did not hesitate to charge that Rawdon was the "great instigator and principal cause" of the execution, and he insinuated that Rawdon acted in the knowledge that "retaliation could not reach him" after he sailed for England.[165]

On September 8, 1781, occurred the battle of Eutaw Springs, the last serious engagement, as has been said, in which the Volunteers of Ireland participated. British and American reports on the battle are in sharpest contradiction. Writing from Mayham's Plantation on the Santee three weeks after the event,[166] Major General Gould, who had taken over the command after Rawdon resigned, observed that Lieutenant Colonel Stewart will have reported the particulars of the action at Eutaw Springs.[167] On this assumption Gould contented himself with the remark that after remaining on the field of action for two days Stewart fell back to a position near Monk's Corner in order to care for his wounded and "refresh his Troop."

General Greene tells quite a different story. For a week he was silent, but on September 16 and 17 he penned or dictated letters to Generals Washington, Sumpter, Lafayette, Varnum, Von Steuben, and Smallwood, to Colonels Shelby and Sevier, and to Governors Nelson and Burke.[168] Similar, even identical expressions, are found in this correspondence, e.g., "signal success," "complete victory" though outnumbered, "the hottest action I ever saw and the most bloody for the numbers engaged." Again and again he reports that "we took 500 prisoners," "1000 stand of arms," and drove the enemy to the "gates of Charleston." He even maintained that, but for one of those "incidents to which military operations are subject," he would

[164] Greene Papers, Nathaniel Pendleton to Wade Hampton, September 17, 1781. "Lord Rawdon is a prisoner of the French Fleet."

[165] *Ibid.*, General Greene to Thos. McKean, September 2, 1781.

[166] Clinton Papers, Gould to Clinton, September 30, 1781.

[167] No trace of this report is to be found in the Clinton Papers.

[168] All these letters are in the Greene Papers.

have captured the whole British army, but the enemy after being driven several miles saved the remnant of their force by taking refuge in a substantial brick building. From this refuge, however, they were driven after they had destroyed a "great quantity of Stores" and abandoned 1,000 stand of arms. In addition they burned their supplies at Dorchester and abandoned the post with Greene's men in pursuit as far as Martin's Tavern in the environs of Charleston. Unfortunately, no detailed account of the experiences of the Volunteers of Ireland in these events is to be found.

With Rawdon's departure and the battle of Eutaw Springs the active career of his regiment to all intents and purposes came to an end. Thereafter only a few isolated facts can be gleaned from the records as the Volunteers flit in and out of them. Late in August a private, Richard Demery, was imprisoned in New York by order of the commander-in-chief.[169] Mid-October furnishes us with a very satisfying register of the officers of the regiment with the date of each one's commission.[170] When the inglorious defeat and surrender of

[169] Clinton Papers, Weekly State of the Provost, August 27, 1781.

[170] Manuscript in the William L. Clements Library. List of officers and dates of commissions. 184

Colonel	Francis Lord Rawdon	25 May	78
Lieutenant Colonel	Welb. Ellis Doyle	25 May	78
Major	John Campbell	12 n.	79
Captain:	John Doyle	26 May	78
	Jam. King	27 May	78
	Will. Barry	28 May	78
	Will Blacker	30 Aug.	78
	John McMahon	1 Jan.	79
	Charles Vallancey	9 Jan.	81
	Henry Munroe	9 Jan.	81
Captain Lieutenant	Charles Bingham	9 Jan.	81
Lieutenant:	Tho. Procter	27 May	78
	Jam. Moffatt	28 May	78
	Sam Bradstreet	1 July	78
	Hugh Gillespie	2 July	78
	John Jewell	killed 25 Apl.	81
	Herman Black	2 July	78
	Jam. Thompson	9 Jan.	81
	Thos. Flynn	9 Jan.	81
	John Wilson	9 Jan.	81

Cornwallis at Yorktown brought the war to a standstill it becomes increasingly difficult to maintain discipline among the disspirited and inactive troops; and it should surprise no one if provincial forces melted away. General Leslie, however, when reporting[171] that "homesickness, action and Prisoners" have caused the forces in South Carolina to "dwindle to less than half their original number," does not mention the Volunteers. To stay this movement and salvage what remained De Lancey advised Lieutenant General Leslie on December 20,[172] that all officers and men of the regiments in Carolina were under most positive orders to rejoin their respective groups for embarkation, and he promises a "correct return" as soon as they are embarked. Such a report was actually furnished in January, 1782, by the Assistant Deputy Adjutant-General, William Stapelton,[173] but as figures are not broken down into regiments they throw no light on the status of the Volunteers. On February 15, 1782, however, De Lancey allocates to South Carolina only 4,706 soldiers fit for duty, and he reveals an astonishing disintegration of the Volunteers when he sets down only 182 present and fit for duty and merely 340 total effectives.[174]

While peace negotiations continued the military situation in the South remained substantially unchanged, for operations, if there were any, were on a very minor scale, mere patrols and reconnoitering. The

Ensign:	David Whitley	2 July	78
	Walter Cunningham	3 July	78
	Hen. Pow. Sargent	1 Aug.	78
	Mar. Rainsford	1 Jan.	79
	Jam. Cordner	2 Jan.	79
	Bailey Briton	9 Jan.	81
	Abel Harrison	9 Jan.	81
	Dowling	9 Jan.	81
Chaplain	Barker		
Adjutant	.....		
Quarter Master	James Slator	11 Aug.	79
Surgeon	George Armstrong	.....	

171 Clinton Papers, Leslie to Clinton, December 4, 1781.

172 *Ibid.*, Oliver De Lancey to Lieutenant General Leslie, December 20, 1781.

173 *Ibid.*, Return of the Troops in North Carolina, January 15, 1782.

174 *Ibid.*, Distribution of the army under the command of His Excellency General Sir Henry Clinton, February 15, 1782; March 1, 1782.

wall of silence that envelopes the Volunteers of Ireland at this time all but defies the efforts of research at penetration. The Sackville-Germain Papers tell us that on June 10, 1782, when Lieutenant Colonel Thompson, who commanded the cavalry at a post four miles from Charleston, found his patrols driven in to within a mile of his advance post, and it was rumored that a large body of the enemy was advancing down the Dorchester Road, he set forth with eighty dragoons and the "light company" of the Volunteers of Ireland to reconnoiter, but their "tour of nine or ten miles" was fruitless—they saw nobody."

When Charleston was evacuated by the British on December 14, 1782, the Volunteers of Ireland bade farewell to the area which had been the scene of their greatest triumphs and suffering. Faithful to their promises that Rawdon's regiment would be raised from provincial status to the establishment, the ministry somewhat belatedly in March, 1782, effected the change,[175] and Rawdon's Volunteers of Ireland became the 105 Regiment of Foot.[176] Under this designation the unit did not enjoy a long life, however, for in 1783 it was disbanded. The reason is plain. With the imminent signing of the Peace of Paris there would be no place for British troops in the newly-born United States, a small army sufficed for Canada, and economic and other considerations dictated a policy of retrenchment. All supernumerary regiments accordingly were disbanded, Rawdon's among them. What became of the individuals on the muster roles we cannot determine. Some may have found a place in the regiments that survived the pruning of His Majesty's army, while others may have preferred to remain in the United States as civilians.

We have sketched the career of the short-lived Roman Catholic Volunteers and we have followed the Volunteers of Ireland step by step from their inception in Philadelphia to their eventual disbanding. If the first group were no credit to themselves or to their cause, the second aggregation distinguished itself, especially at Camden and Hobkirk's Hill. Rawdon's aspirations seemed to have been realized—his regiment compared favorably with any in the king's service in appearance and in the record they wrote on the field of battle. In fixing our attention on these two Catholic groups in royal service we do not

[175] A list of the officers of the army, 1783, p. 182.

[176] *Op. cit.*, p. 75. Curtis calls the regiment "The King's Irish Regiment of Foot."

imply that there were no other Catholic Tories who chose to risk their lives fighting under the royal standard.[177]

The foregoing pages establish the fact that there were Catholics in the armed service of King George III as one should expect, and they are accordingly a refutation of the allegation that no Catholics became Tories, but that to a man Catholics threw in their lot with the noble cause of the revolting colonies.[178] The evidence to the contrary is so abundant that one marvels that a distinguished historian could have maintained otherwise. The record of the Catholics in America's war for independence, let it be said in conclusion, needs no fictitious claims —it is sufficiently glorious in itself.

West Baden College

[177] A. C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution* (New York, 1902), p. 103. "Sir John Johnson's Royal Regiment of New York was made up of 800 loyalists, mostly Scotch and Dutch, and in religion Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, and Presbyterian."

[178] We must insist that the situation in those troubled days bore no analogy to that which would arise today when our country becomes involved in war. A somewhat closer parallel would be the situation created by the establishment of the Confederate States in 1861, and the consequent choice between the old and the new allegiance that then confronted men. But before 1861 loyalty to the United States was of more than eighty years existence, whereas in 1776 the United States was a new creation but loyalty to the king had obtained since the founding of Jamestown in 1607. If so sterling a character as Robert E. Lee found the choice difficult, and eventually pledged loyalty to the new flag, still more could men of honor in 1776 decide in favor of continuing allegiance to the old flag.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Sacred History. By DANIEL-ROPS. Translated by K. Madge. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1949. Pp. xi, 433. $4.50.)

The author, not a specialist in biblical matters, has succeeded in his attempt to present in popular style the story of the Old Testament. He begins his account with the call of Abraham, roughly 2000 B.C., and only in Chapter III, where he treats the question of the historical value of Genesis 1-11, does he speak of Adam and the earliest patriarchs. In broad outline he describes the establishment of a unified community under Moses, its fortunes and failures under Josue and the Judges, its birth as a kingdom under Saul and David, its rapid decline until the Assyrian and Babylonian exile, its purification during this second captivity, then its final theological formation up to the birth of the Messias.

Here and there exception can be taken by the exegete to the author's views for which, however, he is not entirely without scholarly support. His style is good; he traces the development of Jewish religious belief accurately; he describes characters clearly; he presents emphatically the importance of the typic and spiritual meanings of the Bible; he portrays objectively the profane background of the times.

The book was published in France in 1943. It is said that the Gestapo destroyed the plates but that shortly after the liberation of France the book was reset and re-issued in Paris. These difficulties explain the several faulty biblical references as well as the simplicity (and in one case the confusion, p. 194 of the French edition; p. 204 of the English) of the accompanying maps.

The English translation was made evidently from a French edition other than that which the reviewer has, for it differs considerably in biblical references and in the number of footnotes. In several places the English translation does not read smoothly; here and there are misinterpretations, though generally of a minor nature; the spelling of proper names is not everywhere sufficiently anglicized.

The French has a well-chosen bibliography and was published with ecclesiastical approbation. The English has no bibliography and merely refers to the ecclesiastical approbation of the French. Oddly, the King James version is used in the English. The subtitle, *The Civilization of the Old Testament World*, is broader than the French, *Le peuple de la Bible*. Both the French and the English have a chronological table.

St. John's Seminary
Brighton
MATTHEW P. STAPLETON

Saint Paul: Envoy of Grace. By ROBERT SENCOURT. (New York: Sheed & Ward. 1948. Pp. x, 378. $5.00.)

This book is the third of a series called Great Writers of the World. The author says in his preface, "The story is meant to interest the layman as it stands" (p. ix). As such we judge it. I have much against the book. We are told on the jacket that it is "primarily a biography," whereas it is mostly about geography. Since it is included in a "Great Writers" series I would expect the emphasis to be on the letters of St. Paul, but this is not so. In the first 111 pages four are given to the analysis of Galatians. More space is given to other letters, but never quite adequately. The analysis of the letters is by no means penetrating. The fundamental objection I have against the treatment of the letters is that the dogmatic character of Pauline thought receives insufficient emphasis. To miss the dogma in Paul's letters is to miss Paul, for his letters are the classic example of application of doctrine to problem. I may illustrate my criticism of this phase of the book by the case of Galatians. The significance of Galatians 1.2 is that the gospel of Paul is authentic because his apostolate is authentic, i.e., of divine origin. Sencourt does not even mention the word apostle in his analysis of Galatians (pp. 96ff.). The subtlety and force of Paul's argumentation on the Law is missed. Paul's point is this: the Mosaic law does not annul the promise made to Abraham. (Cf. also p. 204 on Romans.) The two economies are rooted in different principles and the promise and law ran parallel in history until the promise was fulfilled in Christ. I see a misunderstanding of 2:19b: "that promised mediator ordained by angels" is referred to Christ (p. 98). Paul refers to Moses as mediator of the law, and to the Jewish tradition of the assistance of angels in the giving of the law. There is an example of the author's paraphrase of Scripture texts on page 97. "By the Jewish Law I am dead to the Jewish Law, that I might live to God." The word Jewish is inserted thus "settling" a thorny exegetical question. "I am dead" is not a satisfactory translation of the original text, which has the aorist tense, that is, "I died." The interpretation hinges on the tense. Paul refers to his mystical dying in baptism. The meaning of the difficult Sarah-Hagar allegory is left completely unmolested in the brief treatment of it. Hagar is not like Sinai; she is like the covenant given at Sinai; it begets like her slaves; it so happens that Sinai is in Arabia, the land of the Ishmaelite tribes, descendants of the slave Hagar. The author considers Peter's conduct at Antioch a "pretense," to me an extremely unlikely interpretation. I consider these observations relevant because I view the definition of a layman's book on St. Paul as one which tells us what Paul had to say. It is what he said that is important. I regret that fundamental exegesis is a *sine qua non* condition for that sort of book, and no amount of peripheral erudition or travel can supply for it. To understand Paul's exegetical method one should have some knowledge

of rabbinical method, since Paul works under that influence as might be expected, and as has been shown by Father Bonsirven in *Exégèse rabbinique et exégèse paulinienne.*

I am left with two distinct impressions about this volume: first, the author has read widely in the Pauline literature, but not too well; his bibliography shows knowledge of the literature to some degree, but the book does not show a command of the literature; second, the book has the dress of scholarship, but not the fruit of long gestation of ideas. To illustrate my point: in discussing questions like "The Date of Galatians" (Appendix 1, pp. 342-348) it seems to me the most satisfactory treatment for laymen is to give the reasons for different opinions, not names of those supporting the positions. The value of names is entirely dependent upon the authority the names enjoy in the scholarly world, and the layman in the science is in no position to know that.

The first two chapters "In the Greco-Roman World" and "The Hellenistic Jew" I consider a rather mediocre historical synthesis. I find spellings like Parushim (Pharisees), Machiach (Messiah), Shaul (Saul) and Davood (?) (David) pretentious, not to mention the inconsistent transliteration. Jahweh is not acceptable in English; Yahweh is required. The Lord is unnamable on page 17 and unnamable on page 62. An accumulation of minor defects mar the book. A short bibliography is given on pages 318-320. It is brief, but pretentious, not Catholic enough, nor catholic enough. There are twenty pages of bibliographical references, six appendices, an index, and eleven beautiful illustrations. I appreciate the fact that Mr. Sencourt took upon himself a difficult task. I have found the book quite tedious and not particularly rewarding.

JOHN J. DOUGHERTY

Immaculate Conception Seminary
Darlington

A Procession of Saints. By JAMES BRODERICK, S.J. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1949. Pp. ix, 198. $3.00.)

With all the erudition of the true Bollandist tradition yet with a charming wit Father Broderick here presents delightful vignettes of twelve saints, selecting one from each month of the year and adding another for good measure. Delving deeply into the mist of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Christendom the author brings to life spiritual stalwarts of the reputedly dark ages. The seventh century is illumined with no less than five brilliant lights. SS. Oswin and Oswald added their royal examples to the labor of the Irish monk of Lindisfarne, St. Aidan, in evangelizing northern England. "This was a gracious and pleasant sight," says Bede, "that, whereas

the Bishop was unskillful of the English tongue and spoke the Scottish [Irish] very well, when the Bishop preached the faith of Christ, the King was interpreter of the heavenly worde to his dukes and subjects." And then there was Colman of Iona, the Irish Bishop of Northumbria, who crowned his apostolate by retiring without bitterness after his defeat in the paschal debate. The author's discussion of this grossly misunderstood question is described in the words of the protagonists themselves in as fine a piece of historical criticism as one could wish. Finally there is the all too brief glimpse of the great-souled Cuthbert caring for both man and beast and ministering to his people with the tenderness and solicitude of an angel.

Yet again that uncommonly lovable Englishman of the eighth century, Boniface, is made to complete the cycle of the Saxon invasion—a truly papal missionary and an educator as well. After the mighty Anselm, the father of scholasticism, the beauty of whose prayers was rivaled only by the subtility of his dialectics, come the giants of the twelfth century: Thomas of Canterbury who represents the strong moral fibre of the English Church in unfaltering resistance to political dictation in matters religious; the Cistercian scholar Aelred; Godric, the layman, trader, and hermit who exhibited a Franciscan tenderness for the shy, wild creatures of his woodland retreat before the Assissian ever preached to the birds; and Hugh of Avalon, the Carthusian Bishop of Lincoln, a noble example of the strong English churchman and cathedral builder. The century of the scholastics is fittingly enough represented by Thomas of Hereford, a schoolman, a chancellor of Oxford, and a prelate of high ability. From the glory of the mediaeval Church in England we are led to Fisher of Rochester, a man of truly great learning, the brightest luminary of Cambridge, and of even greater virtues; thence to the martyrdom of Blessed Ralph of Corby, S.J., a century later when the shadows had long lengthened over Mary's Dowry. Finally there is the Venerable Marie of the Incarnation, a Ursuline without peer, a contemplative of note, a pioneer of the Church in America.

Father Broderick in depicting these men of God with personalities as real as they were diverse has created a heartwarming picture of saints we cannot only admire but love as well. In welcome contrast to the uncritical hagiography cast in a stylized mold we have here a ranking scholar who has earned the right to speak through first hand perusal of the pertinent documents, writing history at its best, clearly, accurately, critically. Here is none of the fanciful miracles of pious legend yet a kindly sympathy with the spirit that engendered them—which was all right. With the sure touch of an historian a surprising amount of information on historical problems is interspersed among these pages. Indeed, these chapters in the lives of the saints end all too abruptly leaving us thirsting for more—which is just what Father Broderick intended.

Merrimack College ALBERT C. SHANNON

Sacred Fortress: Byzantine Art and Statecraft in Ravenna. By Otto G. von Simson. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1948. Pp. xv, 150, 48 plates. $10.00.)

The study of four great artistic monuments of sixth-century Ravenna: the mosaic decoration of the Churches of San Vitale, Sant'Apollinare in Classe, and Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, and the ivory carvings of the Maximian chair, is essentially a study in iconography. So to apply the word, however, is to endow it with a fullness of meaning which it has not always possessed in the literature of art history. For Dr. von Simson, the "picture writing" on the walls of the Justinian churches, the repertoire of subject and symbol there displayed, is something other than a set of formal devices, variously pedigreed and, therefore, helpful in the detection of date and of stylistic origin. His concern is rather with the total meaning of the image, and while his chief aim has been to make clear the polemic and didactic message which it conveyed in its own time, he has in so doing inevitably gone further—showing it to us as rooted in phases of the Christian experience which, being of permanent validity, throw light upon the mysterious and compelling processes by which man has been able to translate mystic emotion into representational form.

Let it not be imagined that the author has achieved this result by any merely discursive or facile means. His documentation is wide and authoritative. He retains from the older art historical literature many suggestions as to the import of specific scenes, enriching them, however, with a wealth of illustration and analogy from early theological and liturgical writings and, as in the case of the "eucharistic" symbolism in San Vitale, often transforming a traditional interpretation into something quite new by viewing it as part of a larger thematic whole.

Where he has found it necessary to take a stand upon some disputed question of fact, he has not always brought forward strong supporting evidence, but in no such instance detected by the reviewer is the margin of doubt of such a nature as to invalidate a major section of the argument. Plans could have been drawn up in Constantinople even before the consecration of Maximian as Bishop of Ravenna in 546, for a scheme of decoration for San Vitale which should accent the theological bases of the emperor's authority, and thereby strengthen both the political claims of the *imperium* in beleaguered Italy and Justinian's hope of overcoming the resistance of the western churches to his compromise solution of the christological controversy. The historic situation which might have made "Sacred Bridgehead" an even more appropriate title for the book than "Sacred Fortress" was already in existence before Maximian became the official representative of the "imperial theodicy." If it should eventually be discovered that the mosaic decoration was in fact begun more than the

brief two years before the consecration of the church to which von Simson (and other writers as well) would confine it, we cannot see that his interpretation of the iconography would need in any essential way to be revised.

Similarly, the author's defense of the compositional and didactic unity of the apse mosaic in Sant'Apollinare in Classe, which he sees as a deliberate gesture of support for Ravenna's aspirations toward ecclesiastical equality with Rome, would lose nothing of its eloquence should the liturgist or the hagiographer tell us that he is wrong in his contention that local tradition had thoroughly accepted the Antiochene origin of the saint and his intimate association with Peter by the mid-sixth century date to which it is now possible to assign the original iconographic scheme.[1] Nothing in the book better illustrates what the art historian can learn, not only through familiarity with early liturgical and theological source writings, but from a vivid personal experience of the faith in which they are grounded, than the pages in which we are made to feel the power of the Transfiguration imagery and the pastoral symbolism in this beautiful mosaic, as they merge with the other connotations surrounding the representation of Ravenna's martyred bishop.

We can do no more than hint at the topics which are touched upon in connection with the Maximian chair and the mosaics of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. The ensemble of ivory carvings on the chair is seen as another exposition of ecclesiastical authority, presented, of course, in terms appropriate to the Byzantine theology of the moment. Almost too much new material relating to the institution and the liturgical re-enactment of sacraments other than those of the altar is condensed here in little space, and we are reminded of certain defects in organization which characterize the book as a whole: as basic liturgical and theological themes reappear in varying contexts, new facets of implication are shown us which might more clearly have been presented in a single introductory account. Our grasp of the vital Three Chapters controversy suffers particularly from this method of presentation, which is both fragmentary and repetitious.

In Sant'Apollinare Nuovo the historic atmosphere has changed. Maximian, whose role as scenarist has, perhaps, been overstressed, has disappeared. His successor, Bishop Agnellus, called upon to convert the seized Arian properties to orthodox use, retains in conciliatory spirit the existing christological scenes of Romano-Arian inspiration, but places beneath them the "offertory" processions of male and female martyrs, many

[1] R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte. *Monumenti: tavole storiche dei mosaici di Ravenna.* Text by Corrado Ricci; drawings by Alessandro Azzaroni. Fascicolo VII: *Sant'Apollinare in Classe* (1935), esp. pp. 36 and Tav. LXVII. (Rome, 1930—).

of whom have obviously been included because of some legendary identification with orthodox practice and teaching. These mosaics provide the text for an investigation of the history and ideology of the offertory rite which dominates the latter part of the book. We are made to feel the processions as something of transcendental significance—from which man, however, is not excluded. Their position in the nave of the church seems to exploit certain architectural suggestions attributed to the basilical structure itself. The entire congregation is assimilated to the action of the liturgy, whereas in San Vitale the layman remains the awed observer of rites enacted for him as upon a stage. The church of central plan was the ideal setting for a liturgy which reflected the eastern concept of worship as something akin to the splendor and the remoteness of court ceremonial.

In a final chapter the contrast between San Vitale and Sant'Apollinare Nuovo is presented as characteristic of two types of politico-religious experience which confronted one another in Ravenna during these brief decades. In celebrating the eventual victory of Latin Christianity, Dr. von Simson makes no mention of the fact that on another front—that of stylistic influence in the visual arts—notable victories were won by the invader. One could have no better indication of where our author's preoccupations lie.

In spite of certain reservations which it has been impossible not to imply, the reviewer believes that the appearance of *Sacred Fortress* is an event of major importance. New attitudes toward the study of early mediaeval art are beginning to take shape, now that a first period of scholarship has accomplished so much of the necessary labor of identifying and describing the monuments. It is from this point of view in particular that the book should prove both challenging and richly informative to the art historian—an incitement toward the integration of stylistic and expressive factors which has here not been fully achieved. Is it too much to hope that Dr. von Simson himself will continue the work so auspiciously begun for these Ravenna monuments?

Let us in a final word commend the physical form of the book, in which difficult problems of editing have been in the main well handled. The plates are excellent and aid the text in evoking, even for the non-specialist, a sense of the supreme prestige of monuments and of site.

BARBARA FOSTER SESSIONS

Boston, Massachusetts

Thomas More. By R. W. CHAMBERS. (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1949. Pp. 416. $4.00.)

English history has given us no nobler figure than Thomas More, and in Professor Chambers the great man found a worthy modern biographer.

Mr. Chambers' book first appeared in 1936, but through some inexplicable oversight a review of it failed to appear in these pages. The recent reprint, brought out by the Newman Press, affords an occasion to repair in some part that oversight and gives to many an opportunity to add to their libraries a volume which may well remain the definitive biography of one of the world's truly great men.

The chief value of this book, it seems to me, lies in the fact that through its pages walks from boyhood to full maturity and to martyrdom the living personality of Thomas More. And his, indeed, was a many-sided personality. The clever, apt, and attractive young boy; the devoted son and deeply religious young man; the equally devoted husband and father; the incomparable wit whose friendship and company were the delight of the most distinguished men of his age; the outstanding scholar and the best writer of prose in sixteenth-century England; the author (in Latin) of the one book of early Tudor times which has made a lasting place for itself in all the lists of great books; the father of English biography; lawyer and diplomat; a statesman who through sheer ability and incorruptible integrity rose at last to be lord chancellor of the realm; always the king's true servant and the Church's most devoted son; finally a martyr for his Catholic faith—such was Thomas More and such he appears in the pages of Chambers. In every chapter he is eminently alive and fully at home in an environment which the author has completely mastered. He towers over all his contemporaries and he remains to the end firm and immovable because the roots of his mind and his character are deep in eternal truth.

The very many-sidedness of More, which had its origin in the depth, strength, and subtlety of his mind and in his abounding vitality, might easily have led a less skillful author to have produced a disjointed effigy or at least an unbalanced portrait. But by capturing in his narrative the true character of More Chambers has moulded all the details of his life and all the aspects of his personality into an admirable unity.

A special hazard to the presentation of a living likeness must have been the many problems of scholarship which the author had to face. Never have such problems been more deftly and more gracefully handled. To have woven them into the texture of his narrative in such a way that they become interesting but unobtrusive ornaments is evidence of a distinguished and cultured mind. One leaves the book with the conviction that only a great love for the subject could have motivated such patient and minute care.

The life of More has special pertinence to the world and particularly to Catholics at the present time. What he, the king's highest servant and the Church's most faithful son, had to face was the dilemma presented by an absolute state in which the spiritual authority of the Church could find no place. It is doubtful if one of More's own fellow churchmen would have

presented with keener insight and deeper sympathy the growth of that problem and the only choice which the conscience of More could make.

This is, indeed, a noble book and its nobility, grounded on sound scholarship, assures it a permanent place in every library worthy of the name.

✠ LAWRENCE J. SHEHAN
Auxiliary Bishop of Baltimore

Citizen Thomas More and His Utopia. By RUSSELL AMES. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 230. $3.50.)

Thomas More and his *Utopia* have been the subject of animated discussion for over 400 years and the interpretations of the book and the man have been almost as numerous as the scholars who have entered the lists. This book is an attempt to re-evaluate the scholarly work of R. W. Chambers in the light of Karl Kautsky's work of the nineteenth century. The main thesis of the study is "that More was a bourgeois, critical of rising capitalism and especially of declining feudalism, who hoped to reform society along bourgeois-republican lines in the immediate future, and that to this aim his mediaeval and socialist ideas were subordinate" (p. 18). The author does not succeed in making substantial changes in the scholarly interpretations of Mr. Chambers.

Admittedly, Mr. Ames has attempted a difficult proposition, proof by analogy and probabilities (p. 14). But between pages 36 and 41 he uses "perhaps," "it seems," and like phrases no less than eleven times. After asserting that "perhaps from Morton he [More] acquired basic ideals—anti-aristocratic, humanitarian, favoring clerical reform," the three qualities of Morton are proven from mere secondary sources, Trevelyan and Fisher. Such inconclusiveness can hardly lead to truth.

The main weakness in the volume seems to be that More is not understood as a human being, but is pictured as an inhuman creature of the times. The author expressly states that, "it cannot be denied that this brilliant man, basing himself on sound concepts of *economic and environmental determinism,* of human relations and historical possibilities, projected his thought far into the future of rising social forms" (p. 35, italics mine). Such *a priorism* which reflects upon More's character is evident on page 33: "More himself profitted directly from the death of Buckingham, several years after *Utopia* was written; and, as long as he was gaining from another's misfortunes, he doubtless preferred that a noble should suffer." After speaking of More's efforts in the parliament of 1504 he states, "That he was a spokesman, rather than an irate individual, is not hard to believe, for such is the usual nature of politics" (p. 40). It is the function of the historian to approach his subject *a posteriori* and, above all, to avoid the mistake of reading history backwards.

A final indication of the tenor of this work is contained on page 144. After stating that "In Utopia the priesthood is much respected," he says that the priests were poor and virtuous monks who do the heaviest and most unpleasant work, they educate the young, are exempt from prosecution by civil law, exercise humanitarian offices during war, and have gorgeous and spacious churches in which to conduct worship. The author concludes, "More could have made the priests less privileged." With one exception, where is there question of privilege in the enumeration? Or should we all take more courses in semantics?

This book will find its chief value as an assignment for courses in historical methodology.

HENRY A. CALLAHAN

Boston College

The Catholic Reformation. By PIERRE JANELLE. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1949. Pp. xiv, 397. $4.50.)

It is an amazing fact that while whole libraries of books have been written about the Protestant Revolt of the sixteenth century, scarcely a dozen works in any language have been devoted specifically to the Catholic Reformation of the same period, which to Catholics, at least, seems by far the more constructive, fruitful, and permanently significant of the two movements. The present volume is well nigh the first book on the subject that has appeared in English.

The author is head of the Department of English in the University of Clermont-Ferrand, and has already published a number of studies on the religious and literary history of the sixteenth century. If, as it would appear, the book is not a translation from the French but was written in English, its correct, clear, and very readable style shows Professor Janelle's admirable command of the language which he teaches.

This is not, of course, the complete, detailed, and—if one may ever use that word—"definitive" history of the Catholic Reformation which we sorely lack and which, let us hope, will one day be given us. It is rather an outline sketch which attempts to present the general nature, spirit, and results of that vast and many-sided movement. To those brought up in the ancient view that the "Counter-Reformation" may be summed up in the formula "Jesuits—Index—Inquisition," it may be a surprise that, while the Jesuits receive their well-earned share of attention and praise, the Index and the Inquisition are scarcely mentioned. The author finds in spiritual ideals the cause, the essence, and the driving force of this great revival of Catholicism. But he also lays great weight upon the influence of the Christian humanists. One of his central ideas is that the Catholic Reformation was not, as has often been held, merely an attempt to bring

back the Middle Ages, but rather an effort to combine a religious renovation and a reaffirmation of the ancient faith with all that was best, all that could be Christianized, in the culture of the Renaissance. In accordance with this idea, he does not confine himself to ecclesiastical history, but gives large attention to the effects of the Catholic Reformation upon education, scholarship, literature, art, music, mysticism, charity. Indeed, the chapters devoted to this latter group of subjects are probably the most interesting and valuable parts of the book.

Some defects may be noted. The works listed in the bibliographical sections are almost exclusively French (perhaps as the result of working under war-time conditions), and they include very few books by non-Catholics. A disproportionate amount of space seems to be given to French affairs and to certain minor questions that especially interest the author, such as the connection between Jesuit school plays and the French classic drama. As a result, little or no attention is given to the progress of the Catholic Reformation in half the lands in which it operated; and there is no mention even of the names of many illustrious Catholic writers, scholars, and artists of the time. The theological questions then at issue between Catholics and Protestants pass almost unnoticed. Indeed, the chapter on Trent confines itself to the external history and the disciplinary reforms of the council and has almost nothing to say about the magnificent work done by that assembly in defining the doctrines of the Church.

The book is marred, also, by deplorable carelessness in the spelling of personal and place names. And there are not a few errors in respect to dates and facts. St. Antonio Maria Zaccaria, e.g., was not "a gentleman of Verona" (p. 118), but of Cremona; the *Centuriae* were not "written at Magdeburg in 1552" (p. 164); St. John of the Cross died in 1591, not 1581 (p. 237); Pius V created the four cardinals in question in 1568, not in 1563 (p. 255); the reformed breviary was issued in 1568, not 1561 (p. 255); neither Nobunaga nor "Hydeyoski" (Hideyoshi) were "Emperors" of Japan (p. 354), etc., etc. The editor, rather than the author, seems responsible for the oversight by which a set of regulations dealing with Chinese rites is quoted (footnote on pp. 355-356) as if they were incorporated in Canon 1258 of the Code of Canon Law, whereas in fact they are taken from instructions issued by the Congregation of the Propaganda.

ROBERT H. LORD

St. Paul's Church
Wellesley

Apuntes para servir a la historia del Arzobispado de Morelia. By JUAN B. BUITRON. (México: Imprenta Aldina. 1948. Pp. 344. $15.00 Mexican.)

Canon Buitron has made a useful contribution to the ecclesiastical his-

tory of Mexico in his study of the Archdiocese of Morelia. As its title suggests, the work is rather a miscellany than a continuous history. A brief survey of the general history of the archdiocese (pp. 10-43) serves as an introduction to a more detailed account of the episcopacy of the see. Founded in 1536 as the fourth diocese in New Spain and a suffragan see of Seville, the diocese had the famous Don Vasco de Quiroga as the first of its thirty-two incumbents. Biographical sketches are given of each of the bishops along with accounts of their respective contributions to the development of the diocese. These accounts are rather brief for the twenty-six colonial bishops (pp. 105-152). More extended treatment is given the episcopates beginning with that of Bishop Juan Cayetano Gómez de Portugal (1831-1850). The see had been vacant for twenty-two years. The diocese became an archdiocese in 1868 with important areas of its former territory of the State of Michoacán erected as suffragan sees.

Students of the national period of Mexican history will be most interested in the author's account of the fortunes of the diocese as reflected in the stormy history of the anti-clerical, liberal period. As a center of the Church's power, second only to that of Mexico City, the reforming laws fell heavily in Morelia. Even in this period the history of the Church in Mexico is the history of the nation. One of the commendable features of the volume is its many illustrations. Portraits of most of the bishops and archbishops are reproduced. The famous architectural monuments of the city which are mostly ecclesiastical buildings now secularized can be seen in modern prints. There is no index to these illustrations. In fact, the lack of an index of any kind makes the volume less useful than it might otherwise be. A catalog of all the parishes of the Archdiocese of Morelia arranged under its nineteen deaneries gives the book a special value for those investigating topics in local history. The frequent quotation of interesting documents in the body of the work might be more appreciated if they were less loosely annotated. There is an appendix of three lengthy documents, the first two eulogies and the third a history of the seminary of Michoacán which was founded twenty-three years before the establishment of such institutions was decreed by the Council of Trent in 1563. A short list of sources completes the book.

WILLIAM J. COLEMAN

Maryknoll Junior College
Lakewood

Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara. By PETER MASTEN DUNNE, S.J. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1948. Pp. 276. $3.75.)

In this volume Father Dunne has written a sober history of the advance of the northwestern frontier of old Mexico into the territory which is

today the western part of the State of Chihuahua. This frontier advance was made possible largely through the efforts of the Jesuits in their missions of Lower and Upper Tarahumara from the early seventeenth century until the expulsion of the order from the realm in 1768. Although the author does not state it, still it seems apparent from his repeated expressions of gratitude to individual missionaries, who were careful enough to write accounts of their experiences, that he was not blessed with an abundance of primary source material. More praise to him, therefore, that he was able to write this satisfying account, even though at times the reader would desire more details, especially exact figures.

In itself, perhaps, the territory whose spiritual pacification and conversion is described in this study is not too important. However, the material receives added importance from the fact that it is a part of a whole frontier movement, which was to bring the Jesuit missions in one long continuing line from central Mexico into Lower California and Lower Arizona and which would have brought them naturally into the present State of California, had their progress not been interrupted so brutally by the royal order of expulsion.

Father Dunne's studies, of which this is the third, in which he retells parts of the story of this great progress merit great praise. It is to be hoped that his example may alert an equally competent historian to begin a series of studies on the advance of the Franciscans to the north and northeast, which was going on at the same time as the Jesuit advance to the north and the northwest and which brought the Franciscans into New Mexico and later into Texas. For the forward base of the Franciscans was at Santa Barbara about thirty miles from Parral, the base for the advance of the Jesuits into the Tarahumar country. Students of the history of Mexico and of our own Southwest would appreciate both series of studies.

The first entrances of the Jesuits into the territory of the Tarahumares were made from their mission among the Tepehuanes which lay just to the south. Although the first advances were made by Fonte in 1607, the first permanent missions were established in Lower Tarahumara in 1639 by Gerónimo de Figueroa. The work, hampered by numerous revolts with the consequent martyrs, was pressed with vigor so that in 1673 the missionaries were able to enter the territory of Upper Tarahumara on a permanent basis, though this area was not formed into a separate mission until 1678. In that year Lower Tarahumara had 3,917 baptized Indians in five *partidos* or mission centers. This was, perhaps, the largest number ever gathered in the missions of that area. Greater success was reserved for the mission of Upper Tarahumara. As a result of the labors of missionaries like Joseph Neumann, that area numbered 14,000 baptized Indians in 1682. The next century, despite the presence of a Herman Glandorff,

was a period of slow recession both in the numbers of baptized Indians and in the spirit of the missionaries. Though there were nineteen missionaries in Upper Tarahumara in 1767, the largest number ever present, they ministered apparently to less than 10,000 Indians.

A point which surprised the reviewer in reading this work was the almost bitter attitude of Father Dunne towards the presence of the Spanish settler, and especially the miner within the mission territory. It would seem that he considers the miners and the settlers ultimately responsible for many, if not all of the Indian troubles, which rendered the work of the missionaries so dangerous and difficult. However, even according to the present volume, it would appear that both the settler and the miner were also great helps to the missionary effort and, in some instances, mines preceded the missions. Thus San Felipe, the chief mission of the Lower Tarahumares, was begun near "a mining settlement" (p. 45), though no information is given concerning this settlement. Likewise after mission progress had been paralyzed for almost two decades, one of those chiefly responsible for the impetus to the new efforts which were to lead to final success after 1673 was the governor, who was interested not only in the missions, "but also, and possibly more zealously" in opening up new territory for mines (p. 97). While there is no doubt that lawless elements among the frontiersmen would cause added difficulties for the missionaries, it would seem that the author has overlooked the benefits which good settlers and good miners would render to the missions in the way of security and protection.

There are several printing errors in the volume. The page references to the notes, which are gathered in the rear of the volume, are frequently wrong. Thus, the notes to Chapter I are not found on page 241 as stated on page 1, but on page 239; notes for Chapter II are on page 240 and not on page 242, etc. Evidently, "lelated" on page 163 must be related, the date 1620's should be 1680's on page 167, and on page 216 the date should be 1746 instead of 1646. Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo is not said by Ricard to be a Franciscan, but a Mercedarian (p. 9).

The volume is illustrated with photographs of some of the ancient mission churches as they appear today. The index is good and the excellent map places every reader in the author's debt.

ANTONINE S. TIBESAR

The Catholic University of America

Les missions catholiques dans l'ouest canadien (1818-1875). By JOSEPH ETIENNE CHAMPAGNE, O.M.I. (Ottawa: Editions des Etudes Oblates. 1949. Pp. 208. $2.25.)

Everyone who is familiar in even a casual way with the history of Canada from the time of Jacques Cartier down to recent years, is more

or less conscious of the deeds and the greatness of the early missionaries. The story of the Jesuit missions in Huronia and of the work of men like Père Marquette, has become part of the heritage of almost every school child. This is as it should be, because there are few chapters in the history of Christendom more worthy of remembrance than these.

But the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were not the only ones that produced Canadian missionary work of epic quality. The nineteenth had heroes of its own fit to be compared with even Brébeuf and his brethren. These are the men who evangelized the West from Winnipeg to the Pacific and from the forty-ninth parallel of latitude to the Arctic Circle. Not only does their zeal in converting and civilizing the aborigines compare favorably with that of the early Jesuits in America, but it also bore more permanent fruit and laid the foundations of the present flourishing Catholic Church of western Canada.

The work of these western missionaries needs only to be adequately known in order to be highly appreciated. Hitherto, unfortunately, it was not easy to know, because it had never been made available to the public. This lack has now been made good by Father Champagne. In *Les missions catholiques dans l'ouest canadien*, he provides just the sort of brief account that the general public needs. This work is simply yet ably written by a man who is not a mere popularizer of history but is also engaged in wide research in the very field which he here describes. Students of the story of the Canadian West will look forward eagerly to the publication of a detailed and documented study of the western missions by a member of a religious order which has helped make so much of the history that is to be unveiled. The high quality of the present work is an earnest of what may be expected.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT

Queens College
of the
City of New York

Church and State in Guatemala. By MARY P. HOLLERAN. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 359. $4.75.)

Writing on a subject which has aroused a vast amount of emotional partisanship both in Hispanic and in Anglo-America Dr. Holleran sets the scientific quality of her study by a remark in the preface: "Various articles written by well meaning members of the Catholic Church have aided the historical or academic angles very little because they have deteriorated into emotional apologies." Because the objective character of the work has been maintained throughout, because it rests upon a rich collection of source materials never before examined, and because the

author has studied the Guatemalan population in the capital, in the few towns, and in the remote villages this book is of enduring value. A good background is built up in an explanation of the workings of the colonial *patronato real* and in a description of the possessions and status of the Church on the eve of independence. Then there follows a pattern familiar to many Latin American countries: first the conservatives are in power (1821-1831), then the liberals (1831-1839), again the conservatives (1839-1871), and finally the liberals once again and to the present time. It is a tumultuous history and often not a pretty story; the population is extremist (less than one percent is white), the clergy link themselves with the conservatives who frustrate the desire of the liberals for a broader constitutionalism; the liberals once in power try to break the influence of the clergy by expelling the archbishop and the religious orders, who have made the mistake of identifying the Church with a political party and of stirring up the people against the government. Volcanic emotionalism exists on both sides while governmental violence of personal liberties rests chiefly with the liberals.

Part three, "Today's Picture," is particularly valuable from the point of view of interpretation. The inferiority complex of the *mestizo* explains much of his extremism when in power. The full Indian still clings to his ancestral pagan rites which are blended in a strange melange with some practices of Catholicism.

We may close this all too brief review with three significant quotes from the final chapter. "Few people . . . in history have clung four hundred years after their conquest to their ancient customs as have the Guatemalan Indians" (p. 238). "North American Catholics seldom understand the situation—they quickly raise the cry of persecution, and, reacting emotionally, they want the United States government to intervene" (p. 242). ". . . It would seem that after all that time, cognizance would be taken of the lessons that history teaches. One of the greatest of these lessons is that when the Church acts like a political party it will be treated like one. When churchmen become politicians, they will be regarded as politicians" (p. 243).

Important documents are given in the appendix and there is a rich bibliography and a good analytical index.

PETER MASTEN DUNNE

University of San Francisco

Footprints of Father Theobald Mathew, O.F.M. Cap. By FATHER AUGUSTINE, O.F.M. Cap. (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd. 1947. Pp. xxvi, 590. 17/6.)

The name of Father Mathew is alive today, and not only in Ireland. There are Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Americans who have heard their grandfathers speak of great total abstinence meetings in London, Edin-

burgh, and New York, of the speeches of Father Mathew, and of the thousands lined up to take the pledge. In Ireland itself there is the memory of a social reformation, temporary in its first enthusiasm, but effective in its influence to the present day.

This reformer, a Capuchin friar, is the subject of a lengthy biography by a fellow Capuchin, Father Augustine. The kinship is fortunate in some respects. It enables the biographer to make thorough use of the archives of his order and to present his subject in the light of his Franciscan profession. But it seems also to have proved a handicap. Father Augustine writes in a spirit of such evident hero-worship that his pages too often read like a brief for canonization. Bishop Patrick Lyons of Kilmore wrote an introduction to this book. Euphemistically he stated that "in the first few chapters he (the author) allows his pious Franciscan fancy a little rein." Unfortunately, these first few chapters extend into nine, and it is only in the tenth, when he describes the conversion of Mathew to leadership of the teetotalism campaign, that Father Augustine hits his stride. That stride goes on through an account of the priest's many journeyings around Ireland, his tours of England, Scotland, and the United States, the huge open-air meetings, the stirring speeches, and the pledging of tens of thousands to total abstinence. But the pace falters. Too often the facts fall into a catalog of places, dates, and numbers; and it is only when the description of an eye-witness, such as Mrs. Carlyle in letters to her famous husband, is quoted that one can begin to understand why crowds came to hear this man and stayed to take the pledge.

There are chapters where the author rises above the facts and interprets the work of Father Mathew in relation to other great events of the time: the repeal agitation of O'Connell, the black years of the famine, the Young Irelandism of Davis and Duffy in their *Nation*. He shows how the temperance meetings preceded and made possible, as Lecky has pointed out, the huge but orderly repeal meetings of the liberator; how Father Mathew was one of the few people to see a true source of the tragedy of 1846-1848 in the prevailing high prices and the lack not of food but of money; how he tried to keep his movement free of politics and in so doing left it after his death in want of the centralized organization so necessary to its prosperity.

These instances of analysis and interpretation are rare, and for the most part the author's attention is confined to praising the sanctity or detailing the activities of "the Apostle." When this is done in a stilted style it makes difficult reading. Another fault is the lack of adequate reference to sources and of citation for quotations.

In his preface, Father Augustine says he aimed at making this book "critical, definitive, and interpretative." Father Mathew was a man great enough to thwart any attempt at a definitive biography. On the other two counts also this work falls short of its aim. "The Apostle of Temperance"

seems to need a devil's advocate to bring him down to earth again and a vivid Irish imagination to make his times come alive. He deserves well of history, and the historian has not yet discharged the debt.

JAMES A. REYNOLDS

New Haven, Connecticut

Pioneer Monks in Nova Scotia. By LUKE SCHREPFER, O.S.A. (Nova Scotia: St. Augustine's Monastery. 1947. Pp. xi, 228. $3.00.)

In this modest volume Father Schrepfer relates the story of the foundation, struggles, and subsequent failure of the French Trappist monastery at Tracadie, Nova Scotia. The monastic venture was begun in 1825 but due to lack of vocations and other vicissitudes it had to close its doors in 1919. For a number of years this monastic foundation stood vacant but in 1938 the Augustinian Fathers bought and re-opened it under the title of St. Augustine's Monastery. It is a plain, straight-forward narrative which involved a great deal of patient labor and research on the part of the author. No doubt this work will be welcomed by the circle of friends of the early Trappists whose deeds will ever remain fresh in the memory of the people of Nova Scotia. It will also be read by all those who are interested in a "realistic picture of the day-by-day life lived in the monastery, not only by its present occupants, but also by their predecessors, the Trappists."

The book has two parts: first, there is an account of the trials and tribulations, triumphs and failures of the Trappist monks, together with a vivid description of the life of its venerated founder, Father Vincent de Paul Merle; secondly, there is given the portrayal of the monastic life as lived by apostolic men of the Trappists and Augustinians in Tracadie. The narrative is both interesting and instructive, especially is this true of the delineation of its hero, Father Vincent, who was left "stranded in a strange country, without money and without brethren." This providential misfortune led to the founding of "Petit Clairvaux," as the monastery was called. The story of the monastery under Augustinian rule is a veritable second spring. For once again the monks have returned to the monastic work of prayer and husbandry in a place where their Trappist predecessors for over a century had "tilled the spirit of holiness into the very soil."

The author is to be commended for his diligent search to secure material for his work. Here and there, however, a wary proof-reader would have been able to avoid some mistakes in spelling. Also, a less ponderous style would have made its reading more attractive. Despite these few shortcomings, this volume is a welcome addition to the history of the early pioneer monastic ventures of Nova Scotia.

MARK J. LINEBERGER

St. Mary's Monastery
Herman, Pennsylvania

Sermons and Discourses. By JOHN HENRY CARDINAL NEWMAN. Two volumes. Edited by Charles Frederick Harrold. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1949. Pp. xviii, 348; xvii, 382. $3.50 each.)

Newman's sermons fill twelve volumes in the complete collection of his works, nearly one third of the total. In the present edition Dr. Harrold reduced this considerable mass of material to two volumes by the rejection of a very large number of sermons which he considered either to fall somewhat below the level of Newman's high standard or to lack interest for the study of Newman's thought. The result will not please everyone, for it can be reasonably objected that in this instance Mr. Harrold and his advisers have been more ruthless in the elimination of material than in the other volumes of the reprint and have gone much further than they need have done. It may be also argued that this is a regrettable decision since these volumes are likely to become the standard edition of Newman's sermons for the American reader. On the other hand, it must be admitted that published sermons commonly show their age and lose their popularity within a short period, and that a certain number of Newman's are not exempt from this law of diminishing interest. Even so, the present reviewer is inclined to regret that at least another volume of selections was not issued.

Apart from this criticism, on which it is admitted that there is room for some difference of opinion, it is a pleasure to record that these two volumes reach the high standard which is now expected of the editor and the publisher. As usual Dr. Harrold provided each volume with a preface and an introduction explaining the editorial principles which he followed and commenting on the more significant aspects of the sermons for a modern reader. Many of his observations should be taken into careful account by any teacher who ventures to make use of these volumes in the classroom. Particular attention should be drawn to the advice, obvious enough yet often neglected, to read the sermons as sermons, and to accept their eloquence on the level of poetry, of symbol, and of spiritual intimation with which Newman could so well adorn his chosen theme.

In general the editor's comments follow the material which appeared in Chapter XIII of his biography of Newman published in 1945, but it is of special interest to note that his estimate of Newman is expressed in warmer terms than was the case in the earlier work, a change which will be welcome to those enthusiasts who have been somewhat troubled by Harrold's apparent detachment in appraising Newman's qualities.

In this instance, indeed, Mr. Harrold showed himself to be a very keen admirer of Newman, delighting in the high literary art, the refinement and the imaginative genius, and the enduring significance of these sermons. He saluted Newman with a tribute in which we think every grateful reader

of these volumes might well be moved to join, calling him one of the greatest religious geniuses of all times, the Augustine of our calamitous era.

J. F. LEDDY

University of Saskatchewan

Newman and Bloxam. An Oxford Friendship. By R. D. MIDDLETON. (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1947. Pp. x, 261. $6.00.)

John Rouse Bloxam was Newman's curate in charge of the chapel at Littlemore from 1837 to 1840, and remained his friend and correspondent until the cardinal's death in 1890. In 1882 Dr. Bloxam began the task of collecting and annotating what he called "odds and ends, newspaper cuttings, printed papers and copies of letters relating to the Cardinal and his Oxford contemporaries . . ." (p. viii). This material, now reposing in three folio volumes in the library of Magdalen College, has been the principal source of R. D. Middleton's interesting and highly valuable *Newman and Bloxam.* Most of the letters around which the book is organized appear in print for the first time.

Particularly noteworthy, perhaps, are Chapter V, "Letters on Reunion," and Chapter VII, "'Obliviscere Populum Tuum.'" In Chapter V, the complicated discussion between Newman and Ambrose Lisle Phillipps conducted through Bloxam, shows how much more clearly the difficulties in the way of church "reunion" were recognized by the then Anglican Newman than by the Catholic Phillipps. This correspondence should be of considerable interest to those occupied with the current problems of "Church Unity." Incidentally, as these letters show, in the early days of the Newman-Bloxam friendship it was Bloxam who demonstrated by far the more sympathy for and the greater attraction to the Catholic Church. Yet, in the mystery of divine grace, it was the intransigent and uncompromising Newman who became a Catholic, and Bloxam who remained in the Church of England to the end. Those familiar with the standard works on Newman will find Chapter VII distinctly worth their attention. It has sometimes been thought (and the Wilfrid Ward *Life* rather gives this impression) that Newman, after his conversion, made no particular attempt to persuade his friends to follow him. This misapprehension finds a valuable corrective in Newman's urgent letters to Bloxam (pp. 187, 190-91, 193, 219), to J. R. Hope (p. 193), and to T. W. Allies (pp. 193-194).

The Reverend Mr. Middleton usually allows his material to speak for itself, with only the necessary narrative links. Occasionally, however, brief interpretative comments on the letters do not seem quite justified by what the letters themselves contain. Thus, in Chapter V, "Leaving St. Mary's," the author remarks on Newman's "thoroughly morbid state of mind" (p. 171), and the "mistaken and unfortunate . . . policy adopted by both Trac-

tarians and Non-Tractarians in isolating themselves as groups and as individuals from one another, and avoiding all interchange of thought, especially at a moment of crisis for the Church they both loved and served . . ." (p. 173). The quotations from Newman given in justification of these comments could hardly be considered adequate. Again, the author quotes a letter written to Bloxam by Albany J. Christie, in which Christie strongly urges Bloxam's conversion. Admittedly, the letter is importunate, but one feels that Mr. Middleton stretches things a bit when he calls it "unpleasant," and remarks that Christie "was so carried away by his feelings as to forget his manners" (pp. 188-189). No one could accuse the author of being unsympathetic towards Newman or unappreciative of his greatness, but he naturally takes a convinced Anglican's view of Newman's conversion and conversion to the Catholic Church in general. It hardly needs to be pointed out that this probably quite unconscious bias, reflected in a few comments such as those given, does not derogate from the value of *Newman and Bloxam*, nor does it decrease the debt owed to R. D. Middleton by every admirer of the great cardinal for making readily available the material the book contains.

Finally, the volume is well printed and contains a number of attractive illustrations. The index is brief but helpful. Altogether it is a book no library of Newmaniana can possibly do without.

EDMOND D. BENARD

The Catholic University of America

Monseigneur Fuzet. Archevêque de Rouen. Volume I. *Les origines, l'episcopat à la Réunion et à Beauvais.* By CANON CH. CORDONNIER. (Paris: Beauchesne et ses fils. 1948. Pp. 382.)

It has been a puzzle and, perhaps, still is a puzzle to many why the France of the days before World War I, then still a Catholic country in name at least, allowed herself to be so plagued by persecution. The somber result of this persecution is made painfully clear by the humiliating avowal that France today is a mission country. Any work which helps towards an understanding of the causes of so great a downfall must be of great interest to the historian. The life of Archbishop Fuzet, a prominent figure of the French hierarchy during those sad and stormy days, throws a good deal of light on this puzzle.

Edmond Frédéric André Fuzet was born in 1839 at Conneaux in the south of France. Although his family was not republican, Frédéric absorbed republican sentiments from reading accounts of the military exploits of the great republican generals. When his grandfather illuminated the grounds to celebrate Louis Napoleon's destruction of the Second Republic, the joyous flames seemed to go out as quickly as they were lighted! Little Frédéric was found to be the extinguisher and suffered a grandfatherly

beating for his republican protest. This anecdote helps to prove Fuzet's sincerity. There were those who suspected that his republicanism was affected in order to get government support in his climb towards ecclesiastical honors. The story of the lights shows that his republican sentiments ante-dated his career in the Church and were come by quite honorably.

A republican bishop was quite unusual in the France of the late 1880's, but Fuzet became Bishop of Réunion in 1888, Bishop of Beauvais in 1892, and finally in 1899 Archbishop of Rouen. A man of strong purpose and vigorous action, he stirred up a storm of controversy in Réunion and Beauvais. His will was fixed. Woe to those who opposed him! At Réunion he closed the Catholic school, discouraged the paper favored by the Catholics, and set many of his flock against him by his actions and appointments. It is true that much of his difficulty originated in his sensible attitude towards the Third Republic. He thought that Catholics should forget their romantic attachment to the lillies of the Bourbons and try to make something of the republic. Such an attitude outraged many and Archbishop Fuzet was the target of some harsh name-calling. His common sense attitude might have helped the Church of France had he been able to make his views prevail. But strong as he was, Fuzet could not expect an easy victory where Pope Leo XIII himself had so much difficulty. The Pope's policy of *ralliement* was, of course, a great consolation to him.

The book under review is the first volume of two, and carries the life of Fuzet only to 1900. It is well done. Canon Chardonnier treats his subject with sympathy, indeed with admiration, but it is not uncritical admiration. He is quite properly frank about his imperfections, yet one comes away—even from this first volume—with the impression that Fuzet was a bishop who loved the Church deeply, a man who had a great love for the priestly life and a touching devotion to the Holy See.

For students of the modern history of the Church and of France under the Third Republic this book is invaluable. For all it is worthwhile.

JOSEPH S. BRUSBER

Sacred Heart Novitiate
Los Gatos, California

Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945. From the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. cv, 1220. $3.25.)

The appearance last July of this volume of German diplomatic documents which were captured in April, 1945, marked the first of a series which is to be published under the joint auspices of the American, British, and French governments with the editing and translating in the hands of a group of professional historians of the three nations. The

editor-in-chief for the United States on the present volume was Professor Raymond J. Sontag of the University of California who up until last summer was on leave of absence from his academic duties in Berkeley in order to give his full time to supervision of the task. The editing has been expertly done. The volume opens with a general introduction which gives a brief account of how the documents came into allied hands and a statement of the policies which guided the editors in their selection and translation, as well as an explanation of the principal editorial features of the book. This is followed by an analytical list of the documents of almost 100 pages which is a model of its kind with the date and document number and a succinct calendar entry which furnishes the reader with a clue to the contents of each individual item. The five appendices at the back of the volume provide an analysis of the German foreign ministry archives, an outline of the organization of the ministry on December 1, 1937, lists of the German files used and of the principal officials mentioned in the documents with their identifications, and finally a glossary of the German terms and abbreviations employed.

It may at first sight seem strange that a volume of this character should be reviewed under the heading of church history, but justification is found in the fact that Chapter VI, entitled "German Relations with the Holy See" (pp. 932-1058), contains a collection of nearly 100 important documents illustrating the struggle of the Church with the German government in the critical months, March, 1937-September, 1938, leading up to World War II. Although this chapter occupies only 126 pages of a volume totaling over 1200 pages the documents are, nonetheless, of genuine importance to the church historian. Since other reviews have emphasized the relations of Germany with the powers of western Europe, Austria, the United States, the Far East, and Russia the present reviewer will confine his comments to the documents dealing with the Holy See.

The troubled story of Vatican-German relations begins here with the furious resentment shown by the German government toward the encyclical of Pius XI, *Mit brennender Sorge,* of March 14, 1937. Despite the repeated fulminations of the German foreign office the protests lodged with the Holy See did not cause it to give an inch, and the reply of Cardinal Pacelli of April 30 not only displayed a refusal to give ground but turned the tables on Berlin by citing the numerous acts of persecution of the Church in Germany which the Vatican had protested without receiving any satisfaction (pp. 956-966). The clumsy attempt of the nazis to win Vatican favor by stating that Germany had broken with the concepts and methods of liberalist-parliamentary democracy failed to make any impression on the Cardinal Secretary of State. He replied that this statement made it evident that the German government had strangely misunderstood the intention of the encyclical. "The Holy See," said Cardinal Pacelli,

"which has friendly, correct, or at least tolerable relations with states of one or another constitutional form and orientation, will never interfere in the question of what concrete form of government a certain people chooses to regard as best suited to its nature and requirements" (pp. 964-965).

A second subject of controversy was the speech of Cardinal Mundelein in May, 1937, in which he had criticized severely Hitler and his regime. Again the Berlin government took violent offense and wanted the cardinal reprimanded. Not only did the Holy See refuse to honor the request of the German foreign ministry but Cardinal Pacelli once more turned the tables on Diego von Bergen, the German ambassador to the Vatican, by citing the repeated insults of nazi officials to Catholic churchmen and even to the Pope, instancing in particular the Holy See's protest of three years before when a speaker in an official training course had referred to Pius XI as "a half Jew and a Mason," a protest which, said the cardinal, "did not move the German Government even to make a reply" (p. 978). Moreover, the Secretary of State quoted the Archbishop of Chicago as saying that as an American citizen he claimed for himself the right in the face of the persecution of the Church in Germany to make appraisals of his own and to show his fellow citizens, as the cardinal termed it, "the peculiarities of different political systems" (p. 981). Further cause for German chagrin was given in this case when Pius XI received on July 17, 1937, a group of pilgrims from Chicago and went out of his way to praise Mundelein, a report of which was promptly communicated to Berlin by Bergen from the *Osservatore Romano* (p. 989). Bergen explained to the foreign office that the "improvised discourses" of Pius XI had proved a nightmare to his first Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, who once told him in a confidential private conversation that he received information about the Pope's editorial committee (*sic*) only by reading the *Osservatore Romano!* It was difficult, therefore, for the present Secretary of State to do anything with "the aging, self-willed, and irascible Pope . . ." (p. 991).

Among the many other interesting items in this collection are several documents which reflect the pro-nazi sympathies of certain ecclesiastics which the German government wished, of course, to further, and the warning of Bergen to Berlin that its policies in Austria should not be pushed to the extent of arousing the fear at the Vatican that the nazis were working for a national church there (p. 1029). There is also an interesting dispatch from Hans Dieckhoff, German ambassador to the United States, of November 22, 1937, in which he reported to the foreign office on the recent annual meeting of the bishops in Washington which, he stated, was held "under the chairmanship of the Apostolic Delegate" (*sic*) (p. 646). Dieckhoff resented the remarks of the bishops in their annual statement on Germany while expressing his satisfaction with what they had to say on Spain. The ambassador thought their statement had been

inspired by the Vatican, although he was not certain, but since the Vatican was anxious to draw closer to the United States he felt this was probably the case. As evidence for Vatican policy in regard to this country he instanced the Holy See's refusal of the previous spring to move against Mundelein and the fact that it had recently called Father Charles E. Coughlin to order for his inflammatory speeches against President Roosevelt. The Vatican, said Dieckhoff, had now "forbidden him (Coughlin) to make political statements" (p. 647). He did not wish to overestimate the bishops' statement but he felt it was part of a pattern to swing the United States behind the Vatican against Germany and to serve as a salutary warning to the Catholics of South America (p. 647).

The visit of Cardinal Pacelli to Lisieux where he preached a sermon on July 11, 1937, likewise excited the German foreign office which put a political interpretation on his remark about "bad shepherds (who) desired to lead into race idolatry" (p. 997). Another source of friction was the effort of the German government to get the Holy See to ask for the resignation of Bishop Joannes B. Sproll of Rottenburg because he refused to vote in the plebiscite of April 10, 1938 (p. 1035). Once again the nazis failed in their efforts to move the Vatican. When Pius XI showed so marked a reaction to Hitler's visit to Rome in the spring of 1938 the Berlin government was again indignant (pp. 1036, 1038), and the collection closes with a communication of September 26, 1938, from the Minister for Ecclesiastical Affairs to the Minister for Science, Education, and Public Instruction which gave the view that the anti-German attitude of the Vatican, manifested especially during Hitler's visit to Rome, had brought the government of late to ignore notes from the Vatican and complaints from the nuncio in Berlin even when they were on important business (p. 1058).

This final communication in the series illustrates very well the complete frustration which the German government experienced in its repeated attempts to bludgeon the Holy See into doing its bidding. In all the documents published in this volume on Vatican-German relations during 1937-1938 reveal great strength on the part of Pius XI and his Secretary of State in resisting the pressure of the Berlin government and in withstanding this formidable foe in a dignified manner when the interests of the Church in Germany were so seriously threatened. The present volume and those which are to follow will make precious sources for the student in years to come when he wishes to tell the story of the Holy See's contest with the totalitarian regime which dominated the German nation during the 1930's.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

The Catholic University of America

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Judicial Doctrines of Religious Rights in America. By WILLIAM GEORGE TORPEY. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 376. $5.00.)

As a study of judicial determinations of questions relating to Church and State this is a highly competent and comprehensive piece of work. True to his title, the author strictly limits his investigations to decisions of state and federal courts with the former largely predominating as is natural. Thus the lawyer and scholar are brought up to date on Zollman (1933), and are given a much more thorough treatment than that by Johnson-Yost (1934, 1948). After a thirty-three page "Historical Analysis" (necessarily condensed, perhaps too much so), we are given ten chapters dealing with government limitations on religious freedom, the law of religious societies and religious assembly, tax exemption, marriage and divorce, parental control, educational practices, religion in court trials, devises and bequests. As will be seen, therefore, we have a very practical handbook containing, as far as this reader could discern, an exhaustive treatment of court precedents in all fields where religion touches on the law in the United States.

The chapter on education is, of course, the most timely, and it is not surprising to know that it is the second longest. The historian will be interested to note (though Torpey does not mention it) that in the conflict of rights over the schools, public and private, a new tendency is supplanting the old one of concern for the common good of all. This is a trend toward subordinating the good of the majority to the interests of a few or even one, and it reached its most recent climax in the McCollum case, in which the rights of the parents of a whole city were set aside in favor of one individual parent. The point is important, for it is characteristic of the present Supreme Court, and will eventually reach the lower federal, and also the state, courts. Many of the decisions affecting the Jehovah's Witnesses exhibit the same tendency. The historian will also note how, increasingly, law is "made" by the courts in this country. In fact, it is not unnatural now to hold that law is not really law until it has emerged in its final form after having been passed on, interpreted, and amended by both state and federal courts. The recent interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, of course, has brought practically every state law and state-court decision respecting personal and property rights within the purview of the United States courts. Hence, lawyers preparing appeals in matters affecting religion will find this volume of extreme value in writing their briefs.

This reviewer cannot extend his approval of this volume to the last chapter, "Conclusions and Suggestions," which abruptly departs from the

severe objectivity of the earlier chapters, and presents a strange mixture of liberal and illiberal opinions on possible amendments to existing state laws. The work would have been improved if the author had not yielded to the temptation of injecting himself into it.

There is a triple bibliography: books (highly selective), articles (fairly representative), and nearly twenty-nine pages listing the cases cited. This latter part would have been improved in usefulness if the pages of this book on which the cases are cited had been added. The index is competent, by subject matter only.

WILFRID PARSONS

Georgetown University

Saint Among the Hurons. The Life of Jean de Brébeuf. By FRANCIS X. TALBOT, S.J. (New York: Harper & Bros. 1949. Pp. 351. $3.75.)

Due probably to the appearance in 1935 of *Saint Among Savages,* Father Talbot's popular biography of the martyred Jesuit, Isaac Jogues, the seven other saints of the group we call the North American martyrs have been relegated to a place of lesser honor. The added fact that Jogues was martyred within the boundaries of the present United States has undoubtedly served to establish more firmly his cult among Americans, whereas the remaining martyrs have been correspondingly neglected. In *Saint Among the Hurons* Father Talbot has rescued another of the martyrs from relative obscurity.

Jean de Brébeuf was a Norman born. Although a giant in stature, he fell so seriously ill shortly after completing his novitiate that he was admitted to an early ordination as a special favor before his death. However, he had regained his health by the time of his arrival in Canada, and there developed a power of endurance which no Indian could surpass. Add to this his exceptional gift for mastering the difficult language of the Hurons, and one has the basis of the prestige and influence he enjoyed among these Indians. His profound spirituality stood out in strong relief against the orgies and debaucheries of the Hurons.

These are the elements of the story which Father Talbot has woven around the heroic figure of Jean de Brébeuf. The story has been woven skillfully, and the result is a gripping account of a man's unceasing struggles against the Canadian wilderness and demoniacal forces at work among the Hurons, of his great charity for the souls of those savages, and of the noble proportions of the courage he displayed in the midst of his own tortures and death at the hands of the Iroquois.

The more casual reader is advised not to dismiss the frontispiece map of Huronia as part of the "atmosphere" of the book. It must be referred to frequently if one is to follow de Brébeuf's missionary journeys with satisfaction. For this reason it might have been more advantageously

situated within the text of the volume where its significance would not be so easily overlooked. The notes are inconveniently located at the close of the text. Thus the reader is frequently annoyed at having to pursue the story in three different places in the book; yet such annoyance is a small price to pay for the pleasure of reading Father Talbot's appealing life of a great man.

J. ROBERT LANE

Saint Mary's College
Winona

The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830-1851. By HUGH J. NOLAN. (Philadelphia: American Catholic Historical Society. 1948. Pp. xv, 502. $5.00; Washington: Catholic University of America Press. Paper, $4.50.)

In the bloody clash between the Irish Catholic immigrants and the nativists of Philadelphia in 1844 the spiritual leader of the Irish was Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, himself a native of Ireland. Kenrick had few of the objectionable characteristics of the Irish laborers. He was a clergyman of superior talents and education, a gentle and retiring person. He did not have the daring personality of his contemporary and friend, John Hughes, the Bishop of New York, who successfully challenged the Nativist's threat of physical violence. Yet, as is the case of religious meekness in time of persecution, Kenrick probably achieved the better victory. The solid, quiet character of Philadelphia's Catholicism owes much to the patient work of Kenrick.

Father Nolan in this volume tells the interesting story of Kenrick's Irish home, of his Roman training among the best theologians of the day, and his appointment to the missionary seminary at Bardstown, Kentucky. There his talents were so outstanding that the neighboring bishops felt that even intrigue was excusable to secure his services. Suddenly he was called to Philadelphia to settle a divided and unruly flock, a strange task for a scholar. The Church in Philadelphia gained a saintly and capable administrator but American Catholic scholarship suffered as it suffered from so many other episcopal appointments of the few educators available at the time.

Kenrick's trials in Philadelphia during the rough age of Jackson were manifold. The nominal Bishop of Philadelphia, Henry Conwell, an accident of ecclesiastical politics who had further muddled the schismatical problems by futile compromises, refused to retire from service. Kenrick's forbearance in what was really a humiliating experience was heroic, although not necessarily wise. His episcopal visitations, which he recorded in his journals, kept alive church services through the wide expanse of the

state. In the bloody riots of 1844 he stood by his flock counselling peace and obedience, while publicly condemning nativistic injustice and intolerance. When he was called to take over the premier See of Baltimore in 1851, he left behind a firmly established center of American Catholicism with its house properly put in order. Nevertheless, the theologian found time to write learned theological treatises and polemical articles for the newspapers and translations of much of the Bible. He was really a remarkable man.

Dr. Nolan has brought to his study much new material from the archives of Philadelphia, Rome, Notre Dame, and other places. He has endeavored to write a scholarly account and to give an objective story of one of the real pillars of American Catholicism before the Civil War and he has brought to his narrative a detailed acquaintance with the men and conditions of the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. It is far superior to the work of O'Shea and much more complete than John Gilmary Shea or Kirlin. This biography in its original dissertation form was Volume XXXVII of the Studies in American Church History of the Catholic University of America.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

James Alphonus McMaster: A Study in American Thought. By SISTER MARY AUGUSTINE KWITCHEN, O.S.F. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 230. $2.50.)

The growing list of studies of newspapers and their editors is a welcome addition to historical scholarship. This doctoral dissertation on the editor of the New York *Freeman's Journal* is not a biography but rather, as its sub-title suggests, a critique of his editorial policies. If at times the study becomes involved it may, perhaps, be due to the character of the man.

James A. McMaster (1820-1886) was one of the leading figures in the American Oxford movement and became a convert to Catholicism in 1845. In 1848 he secured control of the *Freeman's Journal* and devoted himself to Catholic journalism to his death. A fiery and aggressive writer, a courageous and zealous editor, he could also be a "rash and imprudent" newspaperman.

In the decade before the Civil War he was an anti-abolitionist and pro-southern. Although opposed to secession, his opposition to the war itself, his many articles on habeas corpus, and attacks on the administration finally led to his arrest and imprisonment and the suppression of the paper. After his release he became known as one of the prominent but harmless Copperheads. However, McMaster should be remembered much more for his contributions to Catholic causes. He was a chief advocate of the move-

ment relating to the parochial rights of priests. Among his crusades were religious intoleration in the armed services, the Indian question, and questions of nursing and medicine.

Perhaps the most important part of his journalistic career was that devoted to the development of the American educational system of the nineteenth century. Archbishop Corrigan labeled him the "father of the parish school" and this may be more than mere sentiment. His paper was foremost in the aggressive fight in New York over state control of education, as well as in the struggle for the extension of the Catholic school system. All through this important controversy in that state McMaster held to the stand that education was primarily the function of the family assisted by the Church. Basically he maintained that the problem should be handled by small geographical units such as each individual city ward. He also played up the economic issue involved, feeling that the new tax burden would be opprobrious and unequal. State despotism in education was his constant cry. Some of his discussions on this question could be read with profit today.

The author seemingly used all the possible sources; the bibliography and index are adequate.

J. HERMAN SCHAUINGER

College of St. Thomas

The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor. By HENRY J. BROWNE, Archivist and Instructor in History in the Catholic University of America. Foreword by John P. Monaghan, Chaplain-Founder of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press. 1949. Pp. xvi, 415. Paper $4.00; cloth $4.50.)

This book is an important contribution both to the history of the Catholic Church and to the history of the labor movement in the United States. It tells the story of the memorable change in the relations between the Church and organized labor in this country which occurred during the period 1879 to 1891 when the Knights of Labor were pre-eminent in the American labor movement. At the beginning of this period the Church viewed the Knights of Labor with disfavor and was popularly regarded as being opposed to all non-Catholic labor organizations. Before the end of the period the Church had found a *modus vivendi* with the Knights and had gained the reputation it has had ever since of being friendly to labor unionism as it has developed in the United States.

The early opposition of the Church to the Knights of Labor was based largely upon their oath of secrecy and the bad name given labor organizations by the Molly Maguires. The Knights started in 1869 as a secret society. Their first leader, Uriah S. Stephens, was a Mason and made much

of their secret ritual. Even before Terence V. Powderly became grand master workman in 1879 he had tried to do away with secrecy, but it was not until 1882 that the order abolished absolute secrecy and dropped "Noble and Holy" from its designation.

Even after that there was much misunderstanding between the Knights and the Church. While Powderly was a Catholic, the party which three times elected him Mayor of Scranton was locally called the "Molly Maguires." Although they gave up the oath of secrecy, the Knights retained a ritual offensive to Catholics. Bishop William O'Hara of Scranton and other prelates condemned the Knights as an ungodly organization and Jesuit and other missionaries persuaded many Catholics to give up their membership in the labor society.

The crisis in the relations between the Church and the Knights of Labor came during the heyday of the labor organization in the middle 1880's. Of the more than 700,000 members of the Knights at their peak, hundreds of thousands were Catholics. At this time Powderly was very conciliatory and many bishops and priests were not unfriendly. But Archbishop (later Cardinal) Taschereau of Quebec was very hostile and in 1883 referred the question of the attitude the Church should adopt towards the Knights to Rome. In 1884 and again in 1886 he received replies which led him and other prelates to condemn unqualifiedly the Knights. Through representations made by Cardinal Gibbons and other American prelates, however, the Prefect of Propaganda in April, 1888, advised Gibbons of Rome's qualified approval of the Knights of Labor "provided whatever in its statutes is improperly expressed or susceptible of wrong interpretation shall be corrected." Such corrections were never made but from that time on the impression prevailed in this country that the Catholic Church was friendly towards labor and even advocated its legitimate organization.

This story is told in detail and most interestingly in Father Browne's book. In his study he made use for the first time of the Powderly Papers, now at the Catholic University of America, of all available records of the Knights of Labor, and of the archives of many of the dioceses of the United States. This is a definitive study of the development of the now traditional attitude of the friendliness of the Catholic Church to organized labor.

EDWIN E. WITTE

University of Wisconsin

Burnt Out Incense. By M. RAYMOND, O.C.S.C. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1949. Pp. xviii, 457. $3.50.)

At a time when two books of an American Cistercian have been holding their place for months on the best-seller list for non-fiction many will want to know more about the historical background of the abbey where these

volumes were written. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that of late interest in the Trappists of the United States has approached almost a national vogue. But more important than the curiosity manifested about the life led by the monks in the seven Trappist monasteries of our land, is the fact that an increasing number of American men have been drawn to embrace the rigors of sacrifice and prayer behind their silent walls. To anyone who has even a slight appreciation for the value of the supernatural in men's lives this phenomenon, showing such amazing growth since the days of World War II, is one of the most promising signs of the spiritual health and strength of the American Church. Moreover, it is the most effective refutation one could desire of the belief that the racy tempo of American life leaves no time or inclination for the high calling of contemplation of God and the things of the spirit.

The reviewer confesses that when he first opened Father Raymond's book he experienced a disappointment in reading on the jacket that herein he would find an historical novel or a work of "romanced history." American Catholic history has suffered much damage in the past from attempts of this kind, and the thought of setting down the glorious story of the Abbey of Our Lady of Gethsemani in fictionalized form was a bit painful to one trained in the tradition of straight history. It was reassuring, however, to be told by the author in his foreword that the archives of Melleray and Gethsemani had been carefully searched for the authentic records of the Trappists' history in the mother monastery of France and the famous center in the Kentucky hills. The more one read the more reconciled did he become to Father Raymond's method, knowing that the integrity of the author was sufficient guarantee against the intrusion of the purely imaginary. True, scenes are created and direct discourse is employed, but they are never allowed to distort the historical events themselves, and when one finishes the volume he cheerfully concedes that the promise made in the foreword has been kept, viz., that what would go into the narrative would be "historically true and truly historical" (p. xviii).

The reader of *Burnt Out Incense* is carried along through the stirring events which marked the Trappists' history in the United States from the day in October, 1848, when Father Eutropius Proust and his forty-three brother religious left Melleray to found the first permanent contemplative foundation in the new world. The incidents of the long and stormy voyage aboard the *Brunswick* are followed by the description of the trip up the Mississippi from New Orleans on the *Martha Washington* to Louisville where the monks experienced the kindly hospitality of the aging Bishop Flaget. Finally on December 21 the long journey was ended on the site of the future abbey and there in the closing days of 1848 was begun the splendid epic which has stretched unbrokenly through a century of time and which was commemorated with fitting ceremonies on June 1, 1949,

when a cardinal, an archbishop, thirteen bishops, and eleven abbots joined with the hundreds of clerical, religious, and lay friends of the Trappists to pay tribute to them on their centennial day.

Father Raymond's story is developed through the regimes of the first five abbots, a story that entails the privations, sufferings, and hardships mingled with the joy and accomplishments which these silent men have wrought through the last 100 years. The shadows are not lacking, for the Trappists of Kentucky knew their disappointments and failures as well as their triumphs and gladness. In all of this the reviewer noticed only one statement which is open to question. In speaking of the native Kentucky sisterhood of the Lorettines he refers to them as "the first all-American Sisterhood in the United States" (p. 83). Mother Seton's Sisters of Charity at Emmitsburg were founded in 1809, three years before the Kentucky group and although they affiliated with the Daughters of Charity of France in 1850 they were surely "all-American" at the time of their founding.

Father Raymond ends his book with the death of Abbot Frederic Dunne on August 4, 1948, who died on a train on his way to visit the daughter Abbey of Our Lady of the Holy Ghost at Conyers, Georgia. The sixth abbot of Gethsemani, the first native American to hold that office, had the consolation to see two daughter houses established in Georgia and Utah before his death. Thus the proto-abbey of the new world had given birth to other foundations before it reached its own centennial.

No one but the recording angel can correctly assess the good accomplished for religion in the United States by the Trappists of Gethsemani and its sister abbeys, but those who know something of their life and their work will agree with Father Louis (Thomas Merton) when he wrote of them in his *Seven Storey Mountain:*

> This is the center of all the vitality that is in America. This is the cause and reason why the nation is holding together. These men, hidden in the anonymity of their choir and their white cowls, are doing for their land what no army, no congress, no president could ever do as such: they are winning for it the grace and the protection and the friendship of God (p. 325).

JOHN TRACY ELLIS

The Catholic University of America

A Century of Grace. By ROBERT F. MCNAMARA, Professor of Church History, St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester. (Rochester, New York: Christopher Press, Inc. 1948. Pp. xvii, 283. $3.50.)

This volume is a centennial history, 1848-1948, of St. Mary's Parish, Corning, an industrial city of some 17,000 people in the southern tier of

New York State. Father McNamara's history is unique in that it does not merely recount names and dates of pastors, prominent laymen, and parish societies as parish histories are wont but shows the vital relationships of the larger national movements in American history and their immediate repercussions in the life of a single parish and a single community.

The work is rich in delineating the social contribution of the Church to the welfare of the community. Beginning with the early temperance movement before the Civil War the author traces Catholic influence under the direction of several prudent and competent pastors in this and succeeding movements such as the difficulties of the new immigrants, Catholics and the early labor movement, and Catholic participation in bettering the health of the community. Of particular interest to church historians will be the local reaction to the Davitt-Parnell movement and the Irish Land League, the visit of Dr. McGlynn to the community, the local school controversy (the parish school being one of the few in New York State operating under the Faribault Plan), and the anti-Catholic movements. Detailed accounts of Catholic participation in the Civil and Spanish American Wars, as well as the two world wars show the vital contribution of Catholics in war as well as in peace.

Because of its intensive portrayal of a small cross section of American Catholic life over so long a period this work should be read by all students of the history of the American Church; nor can the prospective author of the contribution of Catholics to American social history afford to ignore it. Father McNamara's work indicates thorough research and is splendidly documented.

CHARLES J. MAHONEY

Rochester, New York

GENERAL HISTORY

A Handbook of Slavic Studies. Edited by LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 753. $12.50.)

This one-volume guide to the geography, ethnology, history, and literature of the 200,000,000 Slavs in Europe fills a long-felt need in English-speaking literary and scholarly circles for a compact, reliable reference work on the Slavic role in European development. It offers "scholars, students, and the general public not familiar with Slavic languages" a scholarly digest of facts and sources molded into a harmonious unit by a group of experts. Taken as a whole, it is a sound work which fills an important gap well and is fully worth the somewhat prohibitive price at which it retails.

Started five years ago in New York and financed upon the recommendation of the late Professor Samuel H. Cross by the Division of Humanities

of the Rockefeller Foundation, the *Handbook* marks a milestone in Slavic studies in the United States. To a considerable extent the volume is the work of American scholars. All but one of the eighteen contributors are presently active in the United States, while eleven of them (one a Canadian) are American-born. These latter include such well-known Slavists as Cross, C. A. Manning, E. J. Simmons, and S. H. Thomson. Among the seven European-born collaborators are scholars who have established themselves in American university circles: Oscar Halecki, professor of eastern European history in Fordham University, Alfred Senn, chairman of the Department of Slavic languages and literatures at the University of Pennsylvania, and Leonid I. Strakhovsky, lecturer in Slavic at Harvard University.

The *Handbook* is also a distinct contribution to cultural understanding in the United States, both as a promoter of scholarly interest in the Slavic world and as a sympathetic interpreter of the largest linguistic group in Europe which has numerous descendants in America. Within its twenty-eight competently written chapters are compressed more than 2,000 years of Slavic history from its earliest discernible origins to the end of World War II. The contents give a clear picture of the diversified Slavic population—its original habitat, migrations, culture, and linguistics, its gradual coalescence into related though separate national units, its struggles for unification and independence. They examine the rise and fall and re-emergence of Slavic states, chronicling with sufficient detail the political and cultural development of Bohemia, Bulgaria, Poland, Ukraine, Russia, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, and they analyze the literary achievements of the Slavic nations, including those of the nearly submerged Lusatian Sorbs in Germany. To each chapter is appended an excellent bibliography of primary and secondary sources in western European languages, while numerous footnotes containing references to the best and latest works in the various Slavic tongues fill the volume with valuable leads to further study and reading. In addition the book carries a splendid introductory chapter on a general approach to Slavic studies, a forty-seven page chronological table of parellel historical developments in the major Slavic countries, and an exhaustive index of twenty pages. Looked at as a whole, the *Handbook* fully justifies the editor's claim that "the Slavic people have produced a rich and unique culture from which we should be able to draw inspiration for the development and enrichment of our own cultural future."

In performing their assigned tasks the authors for the most part successfully avoid the twin dangers that have come to beset Slavic historiography in modern times. On the one hand, they (the non-Slavic contributors specifically) do not approach their subject with any suggestion of racial superiority which tends to look down upon the Slavs

as Europe's most backward political and cultural group—an assumption that not infrequently vitiates otherwise scholarly works by students not of Slavic extraction. On the other hand, they (the Slavic collaborators particularly) do not display to any noticeable degree the anti-Teutonic animus and narrow nationalistic bias that run through much Slavic historical writing. This does not mean, however, that there are no differences of opinion among the contributors regarding the interpretation of certain facts. Differences are present, but the respective views are expressed with scholarly detachment and are limited generally to matters open to discussion. Even such highly controversial subjects as the conflict of Slav and German, the numerous frictions among the Slavs themselves, the partitions of Poland, the sovietization of Russia and east-central Europe, though thought-provoking, are dealt with calmly and detachedly.

In this connection, the reviewer wishes to disagree with certain portions of the book and to register several reservations of his own which seem to him to be in order. For one thing, the general chronological plan of the volume would have been sharpened in the reader's mind had the first three chapters dealing with Slavic origins, linguistics, and primitive culture been followed by the historical beginnings of Bohemia, the Balkan Slavic nations, Poland, Kievan Russian, and Moscovite Russia in the order named rather than in the arrangement found in the *Handbook* which begins with Kievan Russia. Secondly, the non-Slavic reader would have been spared a certain amount of unnecessary confusion had the editor observed a single rule in the handling of Slavic names. As the matter now stands, some names are given in the original, others in transliteration, and still others in translation, e.g., Wadysaw, Vladislav, Ladislas; Józef, Josef, Joseph. Uniformity in this connection would also undoubtedly have decreased the number of misspellings of proper names which, though not too frequent, are sufficiently numerous to attract attention. And one final remark. The chapters dealing with mediaeval Bohemia and Czech literature are sure to be received with warmer enthusiasm by Protestant than by Catholic Czechs, who will read with surprise about "the deep-rooted anti-ecclesiasticism of the Czech people" (p. 109), "the basic anti-Catholicism of the majority of the Czechs of all classes of society" in the fifteenth century (p. 115), and the "burning of John Hus at the stake by the Council of Constance" (p. 110).

JOSEPH V. SWASTEK

SS. Cyril and Methodius Seminary
Orchard Lake

Modern Nationalism and Religion. By SALO WITTMAYER BARON. (New York: Harper Bros. 1947. Pp. x, 363. $5.00)

This volume by the professor of Jewish history and institutions at Columbia University gives us the harvest of a prodigious amount of research

and scholarship. The format with a compact though quite legible typeface gives about 500 words to a page; and there are seventy-four pages of notes and documentation in four languages, largely from primary sources. The jacket describes the work as "a source book of vital information on the growth of the state and its interaction with the religions of the world." On the whole the claim is justified.

Dr. Baron opens with a chapter on "Varieties of Nationalist Experience" which recalls (though he is not mentioned) William James. The next two chapters on "Nationalist Fathers" and "Nationalist Epigoni" contain meritorious studies of Rousseau, Burke, Jefferson, Fichte, and Mazzini. Of course, selection here was difficult, but the reviewer was struck by the absence of any reference to Bossuet. Later in the book attention is given to Maurras, Mussolini, and Alfred Rosenberg (more than he deserves) and the fifth chapter includes an extensive appreciation of Schleiermacher. Separate chapters deal with Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, and Jewish faiths in relation to the growth of national solidarities. Chapter six, entitled "Orthodox Caesaro-Papism," is an especially useful account of the tangled interactions of Slavic tribalism and Slavic mysticism; and in the following chapter on Jewish ethnicism Dr. Baron speaks with peculiar authority.

He winds up with a chapter on "Postwar Challenges" in which the veil of his vast reading is lifted enough to reveal his personal reflections. And when all is said and done, those are what we want. This work aspires, quite rightly, to be more than a source book; but its success is limited by the author's curious externality (distinct from objectivity) of approach to both elements of his subject. He is at his best in criticizing the damage done by the modern nation-cult to both religion and culture; in emphasising, e.g., the crushing effect of centralization on those local loyalties and associations so highly valued by the cultural nationalists. His hopes are set on the creation of larger regional loyalties, the defense and extension of human rights, and on the ultimate success of the United Nations—though this, he recognizes, "may well require a thoroughgoing and universal re-education, if not a basic change in what is usually called human nature. Here religion's task is clearly set." The demand is the familiar one for a non-Catholic universalism: "perhaps it is not too venturesome to hope that the present ecumenical movement, if so broadened as to become an interdenominational movement transcending the Christian faith, will, by steadily perfecting its own outlook and structure, help shape the new institutions of the United Nations."

This peculiar, though popular, misapprehension of the very nature of religion tends as it were to sterilize the author's historical and contemporary studies. If only his philosophy were equal to his scholarship this might have been a great book. It is, at any rate, a very useful one.

Smith College WILLIAM A. ORTON

Makers of the Modern Mind. By THOMAS P. NEILL. [Science and Culture Series, edited by Joseph Husslein, S.J.] (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1949. Pp. xi, 391. $3.75.)

The author, an historian of St. Louis University, accomplishes on the whole the task which he has set for himself: to present the character portraits, doctrines, and historical situation of eleven men who, he claims, more than any others have made the modern mind what it is today. The personalities thus analyzed and evaluated are Luther, Calvin, Descartes, Locke, Newton, Rousseau, Kant, Bentham, Darwin, Marx, and Freud. Professor Neill's book is written in an arresting style and avoids both cheap popularization and subtle esoteric technicalities. It thus can be profitably perused by the average reader who is sufficiently interested in the intellectual history of the West to make an earnest effort in exploring some of the root principles of the civilization he lives in. Both implicitly and explicitly the book also points out the shortcomings of the modern mind and its makers, and it ends with a plea to retain the positive and discard the negative.

The author is, perhaps, a little too rigid in his conviction that the modern mind is the product of just these eleven men. Such personalities as Goethe and Nietzsche might justifiably have been included. He is undoubtedly correct, on the other hand, in stating that though there are deeper and more penetrating minds to be found in the history of the past four centuries than the ones he has chosen, intellectual and moral greatness or originality is no pre-condition for marking a thinker out to become a maker of the modern mind. The relative influence of such "makers" is rightly gauged by the "magic key" they offer for the cure of all the uncertainties and perplexities by which their contemporaries are vexed. Some of these men have become in this way the founders of a few of those substitute religions (utilitarianism, scientism, Marxism, Freudianism, etc.), in which the modern world abounds.

There are a few minor flaws in this thoroughly readable book which might easily be eliminated in a second printing. It is open to doubt whether Luther was "very much a modern man" (p. 8). The studies of Grisar, Troeltsch, Tawney, and Max Weber seem to arrive at a different conclusion. It is equally questionable whether "Calvin's spiritual children made the modern world what it is today" (p. 40). After all, the modern world is not exclusively an Anglo-Saxon-Puritan world! Heinrich Heine is not a "German romanticist" (p. 197), but the leader of the Young Germany movement and an opponent of the Romantic school. Pietism is not "a strong current of the eighteenth century German *Aufklaerung*" (p. 198), but a revolt of religious "feeling" against both rationalism and enlightenment in orthodox German Protestant theology. Had Kant really "never

seen the sea" (p. 202)? He was born and lived in Koenigsberg, close to the shores of the Baltic! It can hardly be said that "Kant's ethical principles are Calvin's ethical principles cut off from Calvinistic theology" (p. 215), since Calvin regarded man as absolutely unfree. Is Freud really "the strongest personality" (p. 334) among these eleven men? Neill's own analysis seems to testify to the contrary ("a narrow-minded man with a fixed idea"). Finally, Alfred Rosenberg, Hitler's "philosophical dictator," was certainly anything but "a rational thinker" (p. 379).

KURT F. REINHARDT

Stanford University

MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Mediaeval Russian Churches. By SAMUEL HAZZARD CROSS. Edited by Kenneth J. Conant. (Cambridge: Mediaeval Academy of America. 1949. Pp. xiv, 95, 113 plates. $7.50. [$6.00 to members of the Academy.])

The editor, professor of architecture at Harvard University, reproduces in this volume a series of public lectures delivered by the late Professor Cross in 1933. Mr. Cross, the leading American scholar in Slavic philology and history, had the opportunity to study Russian mediaeval architecture on the spot, and the lectures were the fruit of his keen observations and of his interest in Russian cultural history. In four chapters he described the religious architecture as it developed during the Middle Ages in the main Russian political centers—Kiev and Chernigov, Novgorod and Pskov, Vladimir—Suzdal and Moscow. Byzantine influences were, of course, predominant at the beginning of Russian cultural life and the two churches of St. Sophia, that of Kiev started, according to Cross, in 1037 and that of Novgorod, built by Prince Vladimir (1045-1052), are two jewels of Byzantine art. The description of St. Sophia of Kiev, accompanied by two drawings made by Professor Conant, gives us a clear idea of the church as it looked before its restoration started in 1632. Both cathedrals stand more or less alone in their districts as monuments of individual style, and their mosaics and frescoes give a clear idea of the main trends in eleventh-century Byzantine art.

It was the second school of arts founded by the Byzantine masters in Kiev at the end of the eleventh century which influenced more profoundly the further evolution of Russian architecture. The Church of the Assumption—a six-column basilica with three apses—constructed by this school, was later copied at Chernigov—the church in the Yeletsa monastery—at Novgorod—St. Nicholas (1113), St. George (1119)—and at Vladimir—Suzdal—Ss. Boris and Gleb, built in 1152, the Cathedral of the Assumption

(1189), the Church of the Virgin intercessor on the River Nerl (1165), a veritable jewel of Russian architecture; and St. Dmitri (1193-1197), St. George in Yuryev Polski (1230-1234).

The influence of Byzantine schools of the eleventh century and of the Renaissance under the Palaeologi, is especially strong in the decoration of churches in Novgorod—Pskov, and in the small churches of Novgorod dependencies—especially in Nereditsa Lipno, Kovalyovo, and Volotovo. Western influences were also strong in this northern Russian principality. "Yet the most striking adaptation of Romanesque elements to a Byzantine base occured in the great churches at Vladimir, which stand out as the most distinguished examples of mediaeval Russian architecture before the Tartar conquest" (p. 90). But besides strong western elements, eastern elements, coming from Georgia, Armenia, and Persia are easily to be traced in reliefs and church decoration of this principality which represents the easternmost limits of Russian expansion at the Kievan period.

Professor Cross devoted special attention to Russian wooden architecture which developed in Russia during the period of Tartar domination. The national craft of wood carving and wood architecture, improving on Byzantine models, created new types of quadrilateral, octagonal, and cruciform wooden churches. Here Cross thought that the ornamental gable of onion *section*, a characteristic feature of wooden churches, might have been related to the pointed arch as it appears in Pskov and Novgorod (p. 75). The influence of wooden architecture on the evolution of Moscovite constructions in the sixteenth century is duly stressed, but this problem would deserve a special study. The most striking monument of this period—the Church of Basil the Blest—is a result of this long evolution of Russian architecture, inspired by the remote Byzantine past, western patterns built in Moscow by Italian architects, and the remarkable achievements of the national art of wooden architecture.

The book with its 113 well-chosen illustrations, although not original in its conception, gives a clear idea of the evolution of Russian mediaeval architecture and should be read by all who are interested in the cultural history of Russia.

FRANCIS DVORNIK

Harvard University
Dumbarton Research Library and Collection

La geste du Prince Igor. Epopée Russe du XII^e siècle. By R. JAKOBSON, H. GRÉGOIRE, S. H. CROSS, M. S SZEFTEL [Annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et Slaves. Vol. VIII, 1945-1947.] (New York: Ecole libre des hautes etudes. 1948. Pp. 383.)

The *Lay of Igor's Campaign* is a masterpiece of old Russian poetry. In 218 verses the unknown Russian bard describes in racy and powerful lan-

guage the campaign undertaken by Igor, Prince of Novgorod-Syeversk, in 1185 against the Cumans, or Polovcians, of Turkish race. The campaign, successful in the beginning, ended in disaster. The prince himself was captured but escaped and reached home safely. The author's main aim is to record the military valor of the prince and of his retinue—*druzhina*—to which he probably belonged himself. There are, however, some lyric episodes. The singer portrays many Russian princes of the Rurik dynasty, and points out that their brotherly discord was the main reason for this tragedy of Russia. The hopeful tone with which the poem ends seems to indicate that it was probably composed in 1187, when the Prince of Kiev was preparing an invasion of the "Cuman lands" with the help of all princes of the "Russian lands."

The sole known manuscript of the *Lay of Igor's Campaign* was the Codex of Pskov copied in the fifteenth-sixteenth century and discovered in 1795 by Musin-Pushkin. Unfortunately, the Pskov Ms. perished in the famous Moscow fire in 1812. All that remains of it is a transcript made for the Empress Catherine II after its discovery, and the first edition of the *Lay*, based upon it, and published in 1800. The first edition and Catherine's transcript are both full of errors, due to the insufficient knowledge of old Russian at that period. Only today, when enormous progress has been made in old Slavonic studies, is it possible to reconstruct the primitive text of the *Lay*. This has been done in a masterly fashion by Jakobson, one of the leading Slavonic philologists of our day, at Harvard University. Mr. Jakobson not only prepared a critical edition of the poem, accompanied by a French translation made by Professor Grégoire, but attempted also a reconstruction of the *Lay* in its original language. This reconstruction is accompanied by the English translation of the late Professor Cross and M. Szeftel added an exhaustive historical commentary of the *Lay* with many new details and a useful bibliography.

The authenticity of the *Lay* was questioned in 1940 by the French philologist A. Mazon who tried to prove that the poem was composed by a Russian patriot in the eighteenth century and who made use of the old Russian language and tried to pass off this work as a composition of the twelfth century in order to demonstrate the maturity of Russian culture in these early times. Jakobson thoroughly examines all the arguments against the authenticity of the *Lay* and shows that its language corresponds to that used in other authentic Russian documents of the twelfth century, since a passage from it is quoted in a book of that time called *Petition of Daniil Zatochnik*. It also served as a model for the author of *Zadonschchina*, a poem of the fourteenth century that celebrates the liberation of Russia from the Mongols. Jakobson detects in the *Lay* many echoes of Byzantine literary influence which had left its stamp on numerous old Slavonic translations from the Greek used in Kievan Russia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Jakobson's philological arguments are convincing. G. Vernadsky completed them (pp. 217-234) with a short study on the cultural evolution of Kievan Russia. A. Mazon had omitted to pay more attention to the high literary and cultural level of the Kievan period of Russian history. A more profound study of this period shows that the author of the *Lay* was able to find inspiration in the works of other Russian poets and writers and in Byzantine models easily accessible to him. Also the casual mentions of Frankish steel, Lithuanian helmets, Hungary, Venice, and the Danube, reflect the political situation of the period. It was the only time in its history that Russia's frontiers were wide open not only to the east, but also to the west. Tartar invasions of the thirteenth century are mainly responsible for Russian isolationism and for the break in the cultural evolution of Russia. The *Lay of Igor's Campaign* illustrates the magnitude of the loss Russia had suffered through these unfortunate happenings.

FRANCIS DVORNIK

Harvard University
Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

South Africa under John III, 1521-1557. By SIDNEY R. WELCH. (Cape Town and Johannesburg: Juta & Co., Ltd. Pp. 586. 50/.)

Dr. Welch has written a provocative study on one of the Portuguese phases of South African history in a style that may exasperate the historian who may believe that facts speak for themselves. He is not sure that they always do, and to avoid misunderstanding, he interprets them as he goes along. He admires the Portuguese colonial system and compares it with other systems, not quite in the manner of a Madariaga, but reminiscent of it. He debunks when necessary, and at other times explains. This is no personal caprice on his part. So many English and French authors, he says, and rightly, have treated the Portuguese with such shabbiness and ignorance that he felt called upon to put things in their place. He has no patience with the liberal historians who failed to appreciate King John III because he was pious and introduced the Inquisition into Portugal, and because, like his contemporaries, he did not believe in free trade and in the other things that we now talk about. Dr. Welch does not hold this against him. On the contrary, he looks upon him as an outstanding man of his times who was wise enough, insofar as colonial policy was concerned, to see that the overseas expansion of his country could be overdone, and who decided, therefore, to consolidate the empire that he already had. In so doing he was not against making an honest penny, but John

lived in an age, as Mr. Welch points out, when things of the spirit were not considered only on Sunday morning.

Much of what the author tells us has nothing to do directly with the area of the Union of South Africa, but since the Cape colony was part of an empire with its immediate headquarters at Goa, and since, moreover, the early history of the colony was intimately connected with the entire Portuguese effort, from the Cape to the Red Sea, he had to place his story, if it was to have any depth, in a larger setting, and this he did felicitously. As a result there are chapters on Abyssinia, on the missions, on Mozambique, on the trade around the Cape, on John's colonial policy, on the scientific achievements of the Portuguese, etc. Actually the book is a detailed account of the Portuguese Empire during the reign of John III, with a particular stress on Africa and India. Throughout its pages there is also an abundance of data for those who may want to know something about the Portuguese theory of empire.

Dr. Welch's book, in brief, will call attention to the springtime of an empire that in its day had no rival. The story of Portuguese expansion, as the author suggests, is of especial interest to the student of the general history of Europe, because what Europe later became is partly and in a sense the indirect work of the Portuguese. Their rounding of the Cape of Good Hope has more than a geographial significance. It led to the destruction of Moslem supremacy in the Orient, and in consequence made it easier for central Europe to defend itself from the Turks. These aspects of a larger story Mr. Welch does no more than touch upon, but his book, in addition to its other merits, will indicate avenues of study that scholars would be well advised to follow.

MANOEL CARDOZO

The Catholic University of America

Le Comte Ferdinand de Bertier (1782-1864) et l'enigme de la congrégation. By G. DE BERTIER DE SAUVIGNY. (Paris: Les Presses Continentales. 1948. Pp. xli, 572.)

The fact that even the *Catholic Encyclopedia* and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* only mention Ferdinand de Bertier de Sauvigny and the mythical congregation in passing, makes the present volume of double importance. First, it shows how an apparently obscure minor official can play a very important role without entering largely into the pages of history. Secondly, it shows that the congregation of "short-coated Jesuits" during the Restoration period in France never existed save in the imaginations of the opponents of the ultra-royalists.

Bertier's family, of the parliamentary bourgeoisie, was hard hit by the revolution. Both his father, the last *intendant* of Paris, and his grand-

father were among the first victims of the Paris mobs. His youth saved him from danger and he was able to live in France under the republic and the empire. Both his brother and himself figured in the conspiracies against Napoleon, and in the secret distribution of the bull excommunicating Napoleon. It was about this time (1810) that the romantic idea of a religious society, modeled after the Free Masons, but dedicated to the restoration of the Bourbons and the advancement of the Papacy, was formulated by Bertier. Part of the object of this book is to give both documentary and moral arguments establishing him as the founder of this secret society known indifferently as the "Chevaliers de la Foi" or the "Société de l'Anneau." Several attempts were made by its leaders to have the society receive pontifical approval, but the contemporaneous popes refused to approve a secret society, although they approved its purpose and rewarded its leaders and adherents.

With the fall of Napoleon, Bertier came to the fore, both in the first restoration of Louis XVIII and the second after Waterloo. His own career included being prefect of several departments, deputy for the Seine, and director of a department under Charles X. His known ultra-royalist tendencies kept him from ever being a minister even under Charles. Finally, he was one of the principal organizers of the futile attempt to place the Count of Chambord on the throne. A part of his career that is unfortunately not emphasized due to the nature of the book, was his presidency of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.

The important question politically is that of the nature of the secret society formed by Bertier. It was held as the source of strength of Monsieur and the ultra-royalist party in general, and was even regarded by Louis as an enemy. The author shows through the actions of its founder that it could not have been the cause of the White Terror that followed the restoration of the Bourbons, particularly in the Midi. Nor could it be accounted as a secret government domineering the actual government, for even Bertier opposed the government on many issues.

With the rise of anti-clericalism in the last part of the reign of Louis XVIII and into the reign of Charles X the secret society was confused with the Society of Jesus which was illegal in France, and with the new Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Thus was the congregation regarded by the left as a vast clerical conspiracy. The fact that Bertier, always considered one of the secret counsellors of Charles, was one of the important men behind the mission society only seemed to confirm the suspicions. Bertier shows in his book that this very danger prompted the leaders of the secret society to disband about January, 1826. However, the damage had been done and with the attacks on the congregation in the liberal press, its myth took hold in the histories concerning the restoration period.

The volume has a valuable bibliography on the restoration period, but it is too verbose, given to moralizing, and somewhat disjointed in its manner of presentation.

VINCENT M. MCDONALD

St. Albert's Junior Seminary
Middletown, New York

Liberalism and the Challenge of Fascism. Social Forces in England and France (1815-1870). By J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1949. Pp. xi, 421. $5.00.)

Professor Schapiro is one of the most respected of American historians, admired for his insight, moderation, and sound scholarship. The present volume is the fruit of many years' effort, one of the chapters appearing in print as early as 1942. In this reviewer's opinion it is his finest work. He is on familiar ground and has an important theme: bourgeois liberalism in England and France from 1815 to 1870. It is both an analytic and comparative study: an examination of the ideas and social forces that shaped the triumphant doctrine of the liberal middle class, and an evaluation of the divergent effect of the movement in the two major countries of western Europe. The author, as so many of us, is fascinated by the success of the British in adapting their institutions to the radically new forces of the nineteenth century, and the parallel failure of the French to solve similar problems. By pursuing this two-fold investigation, he is able to explore the major determining factors of early nineteenth-century history, and to indicate the degree to which they were conditioned by concrete situations. This is a volume from which anyone can profit. The average student will find a balanced presentation of significant material, excellently arranged and presented; the expert will be stimulated to new exploration.

In such a study definitions are important. Liberalism is an elusive term, susceptible to many interpretations. In its most general sense, the author sees it as a belief in the power of reason to regulate the conduct of life; hence it has been the approach of many individuals throughout western history. More specificallly, it is the generating principle of a political system based on representative institutions, of an economic system based on machine industry, and of a social order based on individualism. As such, it was the inspiration of the eighteenth-century intellectual revolution. Championed by the new ruling class, the bourgeoisie, it triumphed in England and France and spread widely on the continent. Its characteristics are then described, and while the author handles this thorny topic well, the statements that in Christianity man is "naturally an evil creature," that Protestantism "accepted and even emphasized" the Christian belief in the

natural depravity of man, and that liberalism beheld no vision of a future Utopia, are open to challenge.

Professor Schapiro describes the process by which bourgeois liberalism in Britain maintained a stable government in a revolutionary age through compromise and gradualist reform. In France the problem of fitting the class rule of the bourgeoisie into the framework of liberal principles was fundamentally more difficult. There the bourgeoisie were more timid, more afraid, "surfeited with revolution that led to terrorism and with dictatorship that led to war," unable to reach agreement with the reactionary nobles whom they had dispossessed or the angry proletariat whom they exploited. Catholics may well ponder the disservice done to religion by royalists who subordinated it to their politics, and property owners who cynically used it to distract man's attention from social injustice.

The body of the volume is so satisfactory that this reviewer questions the value of turning the final chapters into a quest for nineteenth-century heralds of fascism. As the author states, historical parallels are "generally plausible, seldom convincing and never instructive." The application of the term "pre-Fascist" to Prudhon is particularly unconvincing. Prudhon is certainly a complicated person, given to many contradictions and open to varied interpretations. Dr. Schapiro skillfully and impressively sets forth all that could possibly link the nineteenth-century French radical with modern totalitarians, yet fails to win the assent of this reviewer. Prudhon was supremely devoted to liberty, feared the state above all else, preached decentralization and "federalism," and founded all his views on the dignity of the individual. He may be accused of many extravagances, but not of fascism.

This criticism, if valid, does not mar an excellent book that should find a place on every reading list in nineteenth-century history. A fine gentleman and a ripe scholar has produced a work of real value.

JOSEPH N. MOODY

Cathedral College
New York

The Second World War: Their Finest Hour. By WINSTON CHURCHILL. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1949. Pp. xvi, 751. $6.00.)

The memoirs of the surviving English-speaking member of World War II's "big three" continue in this volume from the beginning of the German offensive in the Low Countries and the fall of France to the end of the terrible year 1940, with a foretaste of the victory in General Wavell's December triumph in Egypt over the Italians. In between is the story of the air battle for Britain, the melancholy affair at Oran, the fiasco at Dakar, relations with Pétain's and Franco's governments, and the growing co-

operation between the British and American governments. The greatest number of pages have to do with the military events and decisions taken under the impact of disastrous losses, evacuations, and the breakdown of the Anglo-French alliance, with the record of patience and rebuilding within the fortress, and the anxious scanning of the horizon for that American assistance which began to come early in small portions and in quantity for the great counter-attack in 1944. The competence of the author in the portrayal of military events needs no advertising; he comprehends the operations of the late war against a background of what is to him a familiar aspect of European and world history. For example, the German onrush through the Ardennes, "though on a far larger scale and with different speeds and weapons, was not unlike Napoleon's thrust at the Plateau of Pratzen in the battle of Austerlitz, whereby the entire Austro-Russian turning move was cut off and ruined and their center broken" (p. 38). So, too, with the record of the defense of Britain against German air attacks. Although it has been well described in other places, Churchill provides the kind of detail and the point of view that the civilian historian can appreciate, as in the discussion of the August-September days (pp. 330ff.) when the defensive forces were strained to the limit. Finally, in the appendix, we have a multitude of those 'minutes,' pithy directives which convey common sense to subordinates, which reveal the combined talents of the writer and the statesman.

There is no basis in this volume for any final account of American policy toward Britain in 1940, but a few statements of the British Prime Minister of that time deserve thoughtful consideration. "The transfer to Great Britain of fifty American warships was a decidedly unneutral act by the United States. It would, according to all the standards of history, have justified the German Government in declaring war upon them." Roosevelt did not fear this; Churchill could not hope for it (p. 404). This was "the first of a long succession of increasingly unneutral acts in the Atlantic which were of the utmost service to us." The well understood justification of Roosevelt's shift from neutrality to non-belligerence was the danger of Britain succumbing to the German blitz, while Churchill himself supplied warnings to the President "of the dangers /the/ United States would run if Great Britain were successfully invaded and a British Quisling Government came into office to make the best terms possible for the surviving inhabitants." By August of 1940 he no longer took such a prospect seriously but had "no intention of relieving United States from any well-grounded anxieties on this point" (p. 405). He did, however, consent to the *quid pro quo* arrangements for the transfer of fifty over-age destroyers, including, along with bases, a reference to an eventuality considered by him most unlikely, that the waters around the British Isles becoming untenable "a British Fleet would in no event be surrendered or sunk, but

would be sent overseas for the defense of other parts of the Empire" (p. 414). After the election of Roosevelt for a third term "the moment to act had come." In a letter dated December 8 ("one of the most important I ever wrote"), the prospects for 1941 were described in terms of "the minimum action necessary to achieve our common purpose": more naval support in the Atlantic—leading to United States convoys for war materials—pressure on Eire for the use of bases, an increase in heavy bomber supply, and a mild notice that 'cash and carry' would have to be supplanted by "ways and means . . . which future generations on both sides of the Atlantic will approve and admire." Although the idea is said to have occurred to Roosevelt some months before this writing, it was on December 16 that he told a press conference that he was "trying to eliminate the dollar sign" in aid to Britain (pp. 558-567).

It was the British election of 1945 that gave Churchill the leisure to write the two volumes so far available. That he is still aware of his political potentialities, and that he may fear the damage to those potentialities of the label 'reactionary,' may explain the use of some of his adjectives when he discusses diplomatic relations with the continental hostages, Pétain and Franco. Surely the realistic appreciation he had of the positions of these two, as well as his willingness to make an eleventh-hour appeal to Mussolini (pp. 121-122), need no apology. Why then, except as insurance against 'liberal' criticism in a general election, must he preserve the terms of abuse which were war-time distortions? A conspicuous memorandum of 1940 calling for pressure on Vichy contains nevertheless this gem: "Revenge has no part in politics and we should always be looking forward rather than looking back."

JOHN T. FARRELL

The Catholic University of America

AMERICAN HISTORY

Foundations of the Public Library. The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England, 1629-1855. By JESSE H. SHERA. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 308. $5.00.)

The existence of approximately 6,000 public libraries in the United States today proclaims an institution fully accepted as part of our cultural pattern and one deserving of a thorough history of which this is an excellent regional portion, already supplemented by Ditzion's *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture* [*Catholic Historical Review,* XXXIV (April, 1948), 97]. In the seventeenth century sporadic attempts, such as the gift of his books by Captain Keayneto Boston in 1655/6, were made to establish town libraries. The real foundations, however, were laid in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the development of the "social" libraries

of two major types: proprietary, which "were common-law partnerships; based on the joint-stock principle, they involved ownership of shares in the property of the group. Such shares were transferable by sale, gift or bequest. . . . The subscription library . . . was a common-law corporation. Its annual fees bought its services, not title to the property" (p. 58). Benjamin Franklin is often credited with the invention of the latter type through his organization of the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1731, although it is possible that he became acquainted with it through the social club principle during his early English sojourn. This social library, in its various forms, spread widely; between 1733 and 1850, Dr. Shera records 1,085 attempts of which only 212 endured for thirty-five years or more. Most collections were small: eighty-one had more than 1,000 volumes prior to 1800 while 305 had less than that number. Of sixty-six libraries only one had 100 or more members, four had between seventy-five and ninety-nine; twenty-one ranged between fifty and seventy-four; thirty-nine had twenty-five to forty-nine members while one had less than twenty-five. In some of the proprietary libraries the price of shares ran as high as $100 to $300 although the average was between $1.00 and $4.00. Thus the social libraries in New England were more often class libraries than public in nature.

In the mid-nineteenth century a combination of favorable factors laid firmer foundations. Philanthropy coupled with acceptance of taxation for public education provided an economic pillar; the rise of scholarship, manifested in such library proponents as George Ticknor, and the origin of such societies as the American Antiquarian Society, furnished incentive; the advance of universal public education coupled with a belief in the perfectibility of man, based in this case on the assumption that reading maketh the "good" man, brought support from educators and ministers. Not entirely by chance was the Massachusetts library law introduced by the Reverend John Burt Wight whose advocacy of public libraries was linked with "the promotion of virtues" and "the reform of vice." Then, the matter of local pride impelled Boston to push its plans for the first major public library lest New York City, through utilization of the Astor gift, receive all the accolades. Finally, in 1848 an enabling act was passed for establishment of the Boston Public Library followed by a general Massachusetts law in 1851. Historically, these two actions, plus the New Hampshire legislation of 1849, wrote finis to the expansion of the social library movement.

Dr. Shera has written an excellent interpretation of a major cultural institution in the area of its origin and has buttressed his text with ample footnotes and full texts of documents in appendices. His command of material is evident throughout his clear and balanced text.

EUGENE P. WILLGING

The Catholic University of America

NOTES AND COMMENTS

On November 1 President Truman signed a bill creating a National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States. The primary purpose of the National Trust will be to facilitate public participation in the preservation of sites, buildings, and objects of national significance or interest. It will encourage preservation on every level, national, regional, state, and local. It is also empowered to receive and administer for the public benefit buildings and sites worthy of permanent preservation, which may be presented to it. No funds were requested from Congress in the bill creating the National Trust. Supported by private donations of money, securities, or other property received for the purpose of carrying out the program of preservation, it will be administered under the general direction of a board of trustees. The board will be composed of the Attorney General of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Director of the National Gallery of Art, in addition to not less than six American citizens chosen by the executive board of the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings.

The newly organized Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Catholic University of America was blessed and formally opened at ceremonies on December 8, the patronal feast of the University. The prayer for the blessing of the archives from the *Roman Ritual* was used by the Most Reverend Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington and Chancellor of the University. Since it is so seldom used, our readers may be interested in the following translation of the prayer:

> O God, Lover of truth and justice, graciously pour forth Thy blessing upon this archives that has been set up to preserve historical documents and official papers from harm through the passage of time and at the hands of men. May it remain safe from fire and other dangers, and may all who come here to study consciously strive for truth and justice, and advance in love of Thee. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Preceding the blessing there were three brief talks by Ernst Posner, director of the course in archival administration at the National Archives, the Reverend John Tracy Ellis, professor of American church history in the University, and Dr. Wayne C. Grover, archivist of the United States. The speakers were introduced by the Reverend Henry J. Browne, archivist of the University, who served as the chairman of the program. Following the ceremonies luncheon was served to the guests in Curley Hall where greetings were extended to the representatives of the National Archives, the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, and the Society of American Archivists by the Rector of the University, the Right Reverend Patrick J. McCormick. Among the guests, besides Drs. Grover and Posner, were Dr. Solon J. Buck, chief of the Division

of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, Karl Trever, editor of the *American Archivist,* Philip Brooks, president of the Society of American Archivists, and the Right Reverends John K. Cartwright and Edward P. McAdams.

In 1958 Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, will celebrate the sesquicentennial of its founding. In preparation for that event the authorities of the college have engaged Leo F. Stock to write the history of this important institution of the American Church. There were few Catholic institutions in the United States which played as significant a role in the history of the Church during the first half of the nineteenth century as Mount Saint Mary's. The college authorities are very fortunate in the choice of their historian. Dr. Stock, an alumnus of the Emmitsburg school, is a trained historian who by reason of his published works and his long years of teaching American history will bring to the task the happy combination of an intimate acquaintance of over half a century with Mount Saint Mary's, a deep sympathy for its ideals, and at the same time the best traditions of historical criticism and scholarship. Readers of our REVIEW will recall that it was Dr. Stock's expert editing that enabled the American Catholic Historical Association to publish in 1933 and 1945 its two large volumes on the relations of the United States and the Papal States. Moreover, he has edited five volumes of the *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America* since 1924. Dr. Stock taught American history at the Catholic University of America for twenty-two years and for nearly forty years he was on the staff of the division of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington before his retirement on August 1, 1946. For ten years he was an associate editor of this REVIEW. In 1929 he was the President of our Association. All the many friends of Mount Saint Mary's College will rejoice to learn that the history of the college has been given into such competent hands and that the old two-volume history of Mary M. Meline and Edward F. X. McSweeny, *The Story of the Mountain* (Emmitsburg, 1911) is to be superseded by the more scholarly work being written to commemorate the coming sesquicentennial.

By a consolidation of its holdings the library of the University of Notre Dame has acquired a set of the first forty-one volumes, with an occasional missing issue, of the *Le propagateur catholique* of New Orleans. This is one of the chief sources for the history of French Catholicism in the gulf region during the mid-nineteenth century, and copies of the various issues of this publication are very scarce. The newspaper was begun under the editorial direction of Father Napoleon J. Perché, during the trustee controversy at St. Louis Cathedral in 1842. He later became Archbishop of New Orleans (1870-1883).

In a letter to Father Daniel Hudson, C.S.C., the editor of the *Ave Maria* in 1908, Bishop John Lancaster Spalding stated that he thought his permanent literary contribution would be his book of verse, *God and the Soul.* He particularly thought that certain sonnets in the book would be remembered. His sonnets are not found in any anthology, but his essays which he deemed of lesser importance have given him a permanent place among the chief American writers on the philosophy of education. Since the Spalding papers have disappeared, no satisfactory biography of him has been written, nor has there been prepared a complete bibliography of his writings. Such a bibliography with the dates of the composition of his earlier writings might make possible a suitable appreciation of the genesis of his thoughts on culture and education.

Professor J. Herman Schauinger of the College of St. Thomas in St. Paul, who recently published a study of Judge William Gaston, is planning a study of the Bardstown group of western Catholicism. The destruction of the Bardstown records has left a great gap in the history of what was undoubtedly the most important center of western Catholicism in the United States during the early nineteenth century. The writings of Archbishop Martin John Spalding, which were composed before the destruction of the records, have become the main source of information on this group. His writings, however, need to be supplemented by findings in other collections.

Two letters written by the Count de Chabrol to the Abbé Félix Klein on June 29 and July 9, 1898, have recently been added to the Archives of the Paulist Fathers in New York. They throw some light on the identity of the translator of Walter Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker* (New York, 1891) into French. These letters refer to the translator as Mlle. Louise de Guérines, although on other occasions the Count de Chabrol referred to the translator as the Countess de Revilliax. Since Mlle. de Guérines is otherwise well known, whereas the Countess de Revilliax seems totally unknown, it is reasonable to presume that the latter was a *nom de plume.*

D. A. Binchy's study, "The Modernist Movement," in the *Cambridge Journal* of January, 1948 (I, 220-232), is one of the first attempts in the English-speaking world to study the effects of the condemnation of modernism on contemporary thought. The condemnation also had severe repercussions in American Catholic thought despite the absence here of theological schools like those of western Europe. The effect of the encyclical and the decrees against modernism, together with the condemnation of Americanism, needs to be studied to understand the activities of American Catholic scholars during the decade immediately preceding our entry into World War I. Most of those who were directly affected by the decrees have died, but there is available much evidence in contemporary journals

and in the manuscripts of the time that have escaped the avenging hand of those who dislike history.

The first decade of the Catholic Committee of the South has been commemorated in a brochure entitled *Ten Years of the Catholic Committee of the South* by Vincent J. O'Connell, S.M., general chairman of the committee. The committee traces its origin to a meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, in the summer of 1939 where representatives from all over the country gathered to discuss the papal encyclicals. The emphasis given to the South by President Roosevelt in 1938 as the nation's number one problem had caused Catholics to take notice, and through the initiative of Bishop Gerald P. O'Hara of the Diocese of Savannah-Atlanta a movement began which resulted in a formal organization at Atlanta in the spring of 1940. The aims of the committee are to bring Christian principles to bear on southern problems of rural life, labor and industry, education, and race relations with all the dioceses of the South represented in the organization. Copies of Father O'Connell's brochure can be secured by writing to the office of the executive secretary, Mr. Philip S. Ogilvie, 7927A St. Charles Avenue, New Orleans 18, Louisiana.

There has been some obscurity about the details of the consecration of the Most Reverend Jeremiah James Harty as Archbishop of Manila in August, 1903. Archbishop Harty (1853-1927), a priest of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, named to the See of Manila shortly after the United States gained possession of the Islands, governed that see from 1903 until 1916, when he was transferred to the Diocese of Omaha, over which he presided thereafter until his death. While it is commonly known that he was consecrated a bishop in Rome by Francesco Cardinal Satolli on August 15, 1903, the place of the consecration and the names of the co-consecrating prelates do not seem to have been carefully recorded, in Rome or in America.

The Pilot, Boston Catholic weekly, in its issue of August 22, 1903, offered a clue to this problem. A front page despatch, apparently written by a special correspondent, stated that the rite was performed in the "Franciscan Church of St. Anthony," in Rome; and it went on to list, not in describing the ceremony, but in enumerating the guests at the banquet which followed it, "Bishops Panigi and Tonietti, who assisted Cardinal Satolli at the consecration ceremony."

The church must, therefore, have been S. Antonio di Padova on the Via Merulana, the chief church of the Friars Minor in Rome. "Panigi" can only be a misprint for "Panici." Archbishop Diomede Panici (1841-1909), listed by the *Gerarchia Cattolica* for 1903 as domiciled in Rome, served from at least 1896 until his death as secretary of the Congregation of Rites. He was named titular Archbishop of Laodicea in Phrygia Paca-

tiana on April 19, 1900. According to the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (I, 636) he died on August 6, 1909. Archbishop Amilcare Tonietti (1847-1927), had, on the other hand, come to live in Rome only in 1899 or thereafter, when he retired from an active career as a residential bishop. He was appointed to the See of Massa di Carrara, Italy, according to the *Gerarchia* for 1903, on November 25, 1887; transferred to the Diocese of Montalcino, Italy, on June 12, 1893; and finally named titular Archbishop of Tyana on September 3, 1899. The *Annuario Pontificio* for 1928 records his death on March 22, 1927 (p. 900).

The Society of American Archivists held its annual meeting in Quebec City on September 18-20. The members enjoyed the hospitality of the city and of the province and heard, among other addresses and lively discussions, those of William Kaye Lamb, Archivist of Canada and the Reverend Arthur Maheux, Archivist of Laval University. Special trips to the provincial archives, the Ursuline convent, and other points of historical interest were conducted. Besides Laval, the other Catholic institutions represented were the Catholic University of America in the person of its archivist, Henry J. Browne, and the Katherine Tekawitha Museum at Fonda, New York, by Thomas Grassmann, O.F.M. Conv. The 1950 meeting is scheduled for Madison, Wisconsin.

The sixteenth annual meeting of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association was held at Winnipeg, Manitoba, on September 6-7, 1949, and featured the Catholic history of western Canada. James M. Reardon of Minneapolis read a paper on "Early Records of Catholicism in Minnesota," and there were companion papers on the Catholic schools in the Provinces of Manitoba and Alberta by William B. Ready and John S. Cormack.

Readers of this REVIEW will note with interest the sessions of teachers of history held under the auspices of the Institute of American History at Stanford University the first week end of August. The need of more emphasis on interpretation than on factual information in the teaching of American history and the assertion of the teacher's obligation to be a scholar were among the points raised. Ralph H. Gabriel of Yale University observed at one session that throughout American history Christianity and democracy had complemented and re-enforced each other. This they continue to do, he maintained, despite the efforts of some to put democracy on its own independent feet.

Carlton J. H. Hayes, Seth Low professor of history in Columbia University and President of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1931, received on November 12, 1949, the Cardinal Gibbons Medal awarded for the first time by the Alumni Association of the Catholic University of America. The medal was presented to Professor Hayes by Archbishop

Patrick A. O'Boyle, Chancellor of the University, at the annual dinner of the alumni at the Hotel Mayflower in Washington.

The American Award for 1949 was conferred by the Academy of American Franciscan History on Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California at ceremonies held at the Catholic University of America on December 12. The event also commemorated the 200th anniversary of the sailing of Junipero Serra, O.F.M., for the new world. A collection of historical materials relating to Serra and the California missions was exhibited in the foyer of the Mullen Library at the University from December 5 to 16.

The *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History Now in Progress at Universities in the United States* was published by the American Historical Association in September. There are 1634 titles carefully classified and indexed according to authors and institutions. The list can be secured at the cost of $1.00 from the Executive Secretary, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C.

Benjamin J. Blied, pastor of St. John Baptist Church, Route 4, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, is the author of a seventy-page brochure which contains four essays on Catholic aspects of the wars fought by our country in the Revolution, 1812, with Mexico, and with Spain. Father Blied's brochure sells for $1.00 and can be obtained by writing to him at the above address.

Thomas L. Coonan publishes a lengthy and very adverse criticism of Erno Wittman's *A Guide to Peace* (Columbia University Press, 1948) in the November issue of the *Historical Bulletin.*

Volume 263, May, 1949, of the Annals of American Academy of Politics and Social Science is devoted to articles on the Soviet Union since World War II; Volume 264, July, 1949, to articles on world government; Volume 265, September, 1949, to articles on issues and trends in American education.

Anyone interested in securing back copies of the publications of the United States Catholic Historical Society should get in touch with Miss Elizabeth P. Herbermann, executive secretary, at 924 West End Avenue, New York City 25. Miss Herbermann can furnish copies of Volume III-XIV of the society's Monographs, and of Volumes III-XXIX of the *Historical Records and Studies* she has all except Volumes V, VIII and XIV.

Beginning with Volume III, No. 1, the San Jacinto Museum of History Association, San Jacinto Monument, Texas, will sponsor the publication: *Tlalocan,* a journal of source materials on the native cultures of Mexico,

published by La Casa de Tlaloc, Azcapotzalco, Mexico, D.F. All institutions in the United States interested in receiving *Tlalocan* on an exchange basis are requested to communicate with the San Jacinto Museum of History Association, San Jacinto Monument, Texas.

The Third Natural Law Institute was held at the College of Law of the University of Notre Dame on December 9-10.

The Gregorius-Verlag, Regensburg, published in 1948 a 134-page *Einführung in die Geschichte der theologischen Literatur der Frühscholastik* by Bishop Artur Landgraf. Because of the author's superb control of the sources and literature of the early scholastic period this volume becomes an indispensable instrument of research for those interested in the history of theology. The book takes the history of scholasticism down to William of Auxerre.

Volume II of A. de Boüard's *Manuel de diplomatique française et pontificale* was published by Auguste Picard, Paris, in 1948. The present volume treats of the private document, a matter that has been too little treated by French authors. Professor de Boüard's book will prove a great boon to the little circle of scholars interested in the study of diplomatics. Publication of the album of facsimiles intended to accompany this volume has had to be postponed until a more favorable time.

Department of State Publication 3646 (U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.) contains the recommendations of the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. It was released in October and sells for twenty-five cents.

Among technological advances noted in recent months are two of some interest to those doing research in the field of history. The lighting of research and reading rooms may be ultimately influenced by the recommendation of a committee of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology which advised fluorescent lamps against a white background but behind transparent plastic sheets which are to be a foot below the ceiling and to cover the whole area of it. This is the latest system proposed in the quest for lighting free of shadows and glare. The other invention publicized may be a handy answer to another need. Frederic C. Ludwig, chief photographer of the Sterling Memorial Library of Yale University, announced the production of a brief-case size copying camera which will eliminate hours of copying work for scholars.

Trinity College in Washington, D. C., liberal arts college for women conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, celebrated its fiftieth anniversary with suitable ceremonies on November 3-6.

To commemorate the golden jubilee of the Franciscan Missions among the Navaho Indians the Franciscan Fathers at St. Michaels, Arizona, have issued an attractive illustrated brochure which presents the history and tribal customs of these Indians. It is entitled *Navaho Saga,* and can be secured for $1.50 per copy by writing to St. Michaels, Arizona.

The Society of Mary, founded by William Joseph Chaminade, is celebrating triple anniversaries during the present school year. The first Marianists landed in New York on July 4, 1849; the centennial of their founder's death will occur on January 22; and the first permanent Marianist establishment in this country, the present University of Dayton, will observe the centennial of its founding on March 19. The commemorative events will extend through the scholastic year and close during the week of May 14 at the University of Dayton.

Documents: Documentos insignes que pertenecieron al Cardenal Zelada tocantes a la Compania de Jesus. José M. March, S.I. (*Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu,* Jan.)—Letter of Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesus, O.F.M., Florida Missionary, to the King, concerning the Conversion of the Indians of Popayan (Cali, May 22, 1622). Ed. Roderick Wheeler (*Americas,* Oct.)—Letters of Charles McCarthy to J. Franklin Jameson. Elizabeth Donnan and L. F. Stock (*Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.,* Sept.).

BRIEF NOTICES

BOWEN, RALPH H. *German Theories of the Corporative State. With Special Reference to the Period 1870-1919.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1949. Pp. viii, 243. $4.00.)

The author of this excellent book describes in an unbiased way the development of the corporate theory in Germany, with special reference to the period from 1870 to 1919. First, he treats the time before the foundation of Bismarck's reich: the conservative defenders of the feudal order, as F. J. Stahl, Fichte's nationalism, Hegel's *étatisme*, the romantics around Adam Miller and F. X. Baader. Then he stresses the leading role of social Catholicism in the corporate thinking of Germany. Bishop von Ketteler and his criticism of individualistic "pulverization" of society occupies a central position. After the *Kulturkampf* meliorism prevailed over corporatism in the Center Party, H. Pesch's "solidarism" taking a leading place. Social Catholicism accepted the capitalistic order and turned to trade unionism. Many thoughts in monarchical socialism, as promoted by Schäffle, Ad. Wagner, Stoecker, and Bismarck in his later years were related to Catholic corporatism. However, it was partly influenced by racialist and evolutionist ideas. After 1918 Rathenau and Moellendorff attempted to organize a collective German economy, founded on industrial cartels and trade unions. Not the *Meistersinger* but the AEG (Germany's General Electric) should give the pattern of modern corporatism. National Socialism was a bitter disappointment for German adherents of corporatism. The idea of the corporate society is opposed to capitalism and Marxism alike. Corporate organization may survive because it is independent of the fate of authoritarian regimes which used it as an annex of a centralistic state. (PETER BERGER)

BOWER, WILLIAM CLAYTON and PERCY ROY HAYWARD. *Protestantism Faces Its Educational Task Together.* (Appleton, Wisconsin: C. C. Nelson Publishing Co. 1949. Pp. xi, 292. $3.25.)

The co-operative character of the Sunday school movement among the Protestant denominations in this country became evident as early as 1791 when the Sunday School Society of Philadelphia was organized. It developed steadily throughout the nineteenth century in spite of the multiplicity of sects. By 1922 there were two strong associations: the International Sunday School Association which traced its origin to the Philadelphia society, and the Sunday School Council of Evangelical Denominations which came into existence in 1910. The efforts to unite these two groups eventuated successfully in a joint meeting held in Kansas City in 1922. Out of the merger came the International Council of Religious Education.

This book is the story of the development and achievements of the council during the following quarter century. In fifteen chapters the authors have described the early efforts toward co-operation, the organization, principles, activities, and accomplishments of the organization. To Catholic readers Chap-

ter III will probably prove most interesting. It is entitled "Underlying Philosophy" and outlines the basic principles which motivated the union and the activities of the council. Upon reading it one gets the impression that the authors are trying to show how co-operation in Christian education is possible without agreement on the basic Christian truths. How well they have succeeded must be left to the judgment of the reader. One cannot help but contrast with it the philosophy of Catholic education which is formulated not in spite of credal differences but because of a common faith in Christ and His Church.

(MICHAEL J. MCKEOUGH)

CUTHBERT, NORMA B. (Ed.). *Lincoln and the Baltimore Plot, 1861. From Pinkerton Records and Related Papers.* (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1949. Pp. xxii, 161. $3.00.)

This volume presents the source materials dealing with the rumored conspiracy to assassinate Abraham Lincoln as he passed through Baltimore on the way to his inauguration. Included are the detective Allan Pinkerton's account of the plot, written in 1866 for the biographer Herndon; Pinkerton's record book containing reports of agents during January-March, 1861; Herndon's notes of an 1866 interview with Norman B. Judd (one of Lincoln's travelling companions); and the story of Ward H. Lamon, the only person who was with Lincoln throughout the journey. No attempt is made to prove the authenticity of the plot; the documents are put together for the first time to serve as the basis for further discussion.

Probably the most interesting portion of the book is that containing the day-by-day reports of the Pinkerton agents, and they have the ring of authenticity which is lacking to some extent in the reconstructions made five years after the events. One sees real detectives at work in railroad stations, hotel bedrooms, and saloons, contacting southern sympathizers, members of the National Volunteers, and others suspected of connection with the conspiracy. There emerges the definite impression that those who had charge of Lincoln's safety were seriously concerned, and, further, that there was some basis for worry. At the same time, one gathers that Lincoln himself was not apprehensive and that he passed through Baltimore in the night because of the urging of friends who feared what might happen if the planned midday schedule was carried out.

The editor's introduction provides the setting for the narrative and gives the provenance of the papers printed in the book. The frontispiece reproduces Dr. A. J. Volck's caricature showing Lincoln in a baggage car shying away from a cat—typical of the fun had by cartoonists after the episode. The jacket pictures Thomas Nast's drawing of the waiting crowd in Baltimore—a sketch made on the spot and sent by fast steamer to England for use in the *Illustrated London News*. Notes at the end of the text contain supplementary materials.

(WILLIAM D. HOYT, JR.)

DEFERRARI, ROY J., AND SISTER M. INVIOLATA BARRY, C.D.P., with the technical collaboration of IGNATIUS MCGUINESS, O.P. *A Lexicon of St. Thomas Aquinas*, based on the *Summa Theologica* and Selected Passages of his Other Works. Preface by Ignatius Smith, O.P., and an authors' foreword. Fascicle I and II, A-C and D-H. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1948-1949. Pp. x, 262; 263-495. Each fascicle $12.50.)

The eager acceptance and vast sales of translations of the works of St. Thomas Aquinas are sufficient indication of the need of a lexicon for those works. The authors of the present work have commendably attempted to fill this need. Although somewhat expensive, the *Lexicon* has been minutely compiled, is easy to consult, well printed, and marred by very few misprints.

It is not, I think, the duty of a reviewer to point out all the things an author could have done or perhaps should have done; rather his duty, it seems to me, is to examine and appraise the author's purpose and to declare how well that purpose has been accomplished. We gather from the preface and the authors' foreword that the present *Lexicon* has a general purpose, primarily aimed at a better understanding of mediaeval Latin and not specifically directed towards an explanation of technical philosophical and theological terms. Here, I fear, there will be serious disagreements. Those who are, first of all, philosophers or theologians will question the value of a linguistic lexicon for an author such as St. Thomas. I feel that such an objection is a bit unfair; specialists in St. Thomas should be skilled in Latin; otherwise they will have little success in understanding the intricate pattern of his thought. But one must begin, and here I think the present *Lexicon* will be of considerable help.

Lexicologists, on the other hand, will, I feel sure, be much more sympathetic. The traditional method of lexicography has been followed; all the words of the *Summa Theologica* have been treated along with several parallel passages quoted and taken into consideration. The more immediate and concrete English equivalent has been placed first and finally the more derived. Here there arise difficulties common to all dictionaries; words of different languages do not cover exactly the same area of signification. This difficulty becomes exceedingly acute when dealing with philosophical vocabulary. New cultures have altered the current connotation of terms. Liddell and Scott or Lewis and Short, both excellent dictionaries and products of over a century of labor and erudition, will not eliminate the long hours of reading and study which are necessary if we are to understand the doctrines of Plato or St. Augustine. It would be unjust to expect more from the present work. Each English equivalent must be understood in a properly Thomistic framework. Such terms as *abstractio, civitas, ens,* and *ratio* will necessarily limp when done into English. Here the lexicographer is helpless, unless like the Latin fathers, he be willing to coin new words; after all Horace had already approved such a practice, provided it were done in moderation.

I should like to single out a few doubtful and objectionable renderings. 1. I do not think it can be correctly said that *abstractio* and *resolutio* are synonyms; they belong to different orders of thought; 2. *causa* is hardly a wide synonym of *principium;* rather *causa* is the more restricted; St. Thomas writes: "causa videtur addere supra principium . . . ;" 3. to say that *figura* is a synonym of *forma* is misleading; 4. to equate such Thomistic terms as *causa* and *ens* with corresponding Greek terms in Aristotle is, in my opinion, confusing, since no account is taken of the radically different positions of St. Thomas and Aristotle; in some way the distinction between an essentialist and existentialist doctrine must be indicated.

The present *Lexicon* represents a distinct contribution and will be especially helpful to those who are unable to consult the *Thomas-Lexikon* of Ludwig Schütz. (J. Reginald O'Donnell)

GEYL, PIETER. *Napoleon: For and Against.* Translated by Olive Renier. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. 447. $5.00.)

This study has a two-fold purpose: to examine and evaluate the presentation and judgment of Napoleon by "leading" French historians from Chateaubriand to Georges Lefebrve and to trace the impact of contemporary history, especially the political problems, on the successive interpretations of Napoleon. The constant themes which have occupied the historians of Bonaparte are fitted into a skillful pattern, which gives unity to the analysis and yet leaves room for the freedom of each one's expression of the issues which decided the life and fate of Napoleon. Napoleon's character as a despot, his foreign policy, his fidelity or infidelity to the revolutionary idea, his relations with the Church are some of the lines of this pattern. A motif of invigorating effect is the question of the moment when Napoleon took the fatal step which led to his fall. The double end of this book is well achieved, though the critique of individual histories is necessarily more complete than the examination of the consequences of 150 years of French history on the historiography of Napoleon.

Professor Geyl believes that no important historian has ever questioned the military greatness of Napoleon and, therefore, he does not examine in detail this aspect of his career. A few paragraphs might have been given, however, to Lt. Colonel Jean Baptiste Adolphe Charras' work, which when first published in 1858 while he was an exile from the police state of Louis Napoleon, helped to deflate the Napoleonic legend. Certainly Geyl would have been in sympathy with Charras who wrote, ". . . I contemplate with dry eyes Napoleon imprisoned on a rock in the middle of the seas: I reserve my tears for those who were victims of his ambition." [Cf. Charras, *Histoire de la campagne de 1815* (Bruxelles, 1858), II, 212.]

When Professor Geyl in his *The Revolt of the Netherlands* offered his devastating criticisms of John Lothrop Motley's histories of the Netherlands, he concluded by saying that he had no wish to kill the works, which had elements of greatness. Geyl's ability to combine tenderness with justice is particularly evident in this examination of the French historians. After pointing out their weaknesses and biases, he turns invariably to ask what are the life qualities of each book under scrutiny. The buoyancy and lucidity of his analysis reminds us that his talent is such, that almost thirty years ago, he prepared a delicate English translation of *A Beautiful Play of Lancelot of Denmark,* a classic from early Netherlands literature.

Students will be educated by *Napoleon: For and Against.* Scholars will find it a joy and an aid to reflection. Practicing historians, who still shy away from historiography when it examines anything beyond simple mechanics, will find this study as concrete and satisfying as their beloved monographs. At the same time, historians who aim at that understanding which is related to philosophy will profit by the exercise of surveying the firm ground of this volume.

(EDWARD GARGAN)

HAYES, RICHARD. *Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France.* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd. 1949. Pp. 332. 15/-.)

Mr. Hayes, as a result of many years of intensive research in the French

archives, has already called attention to those Irishmen who emigrated to France and there distinguished themselves in the revolution and in the field of swordsmanship. Now he presents us with a biographical dictionary of these and many more of his countrymen who have caused their names to be remembered in the land of their adoption.

Of convenient size, this volume contains about 420 main biographies, ranging in time from the sixth century to the middle of the nineteenth, the preponderance being in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Each biography averages three-quarters of a page in length, and contains, in addition to the major subject, notes on other members and branches of the family, their fortunes being traced to the present wherever it is possible to do so.

From a historian's viewpoint, more valuable than the biographies themselves is the appendix, in which Mr. Hayes gives a practical guide to the unpublished manuscripts relating to Ireland in various French repositories. Appendix II contains a list of the Irish noble families surviving in France. In addition to this, we would suggest that a listing of professions, geographical settlements, and participants in frequently mentioned military units and battles would have been most helpful. While not usual in a work of this kind, the absence of an index was many times regretted.

Mr. Hayes is to be commended for his enthusiasm as well as his scholarship in bringing to our notice this otherwise quite neglected field. The book should prove a popular reference tool. It should serve also as a source of challenging subject matter for individual biographies. Most of the material has appeared in serial form in the Irish magazine *Studies*. Permission having been granted to present it in book form, it now comes to us through a grant-in-aid from the publication committee of the National University of Ireland. (RITA M. MURPHY)

HOLBORN, LOUISE W. *War and Peace Aims of the United Nations, from Casablanca to Tokio Bay, January 1, 1943-September 1, 1945.* Introduction by Sidney B. Fay. (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1948. Pp. lxv, 1278. $6.00.)

The earlier Holborn volume, *War and Peace Aims of the United Nations,* carried the wartime communiqués and official pronouncements of individual statesmen through 1942. The present comprehensive offering of the remaining material of a similar nature to the end of the war completes the "herculean task" of compilation, making available in convenient form the enormous production of rhetoric by which the big three of World War II justified their joint efforts to defeat Germany, Japan, and Italy. The industrious compiler deserves again the thanks of historians for a task well done.

If it is true that "a careful analysis of the documents in this volume reveals with compelling clarity how diverse were, in actuality, both the war and peace aims of the Allied Powers," even a less careful examination reveals the undisputed fact that it was the main effort of the western powers, not of Soviet Russia, to key all declarations to the level of accommodation and produce "the enthusiastic press reports of the period" (p. v). The result was a gradual and ultimately decisive trend toward the making of a post-war organization of nations which could give an impression of harmony only as long as the threat of Hitler, or Hitler's ghost, compelled it. It follows that only the Soviet state-

ments recorded here suggest the freedom of utterance, the confidence of power, and the willingness to correct their wartime associates, which are all appropriate only to those who know exactly what they are about and have no scruples to bother them. Students who use this volume may be much interested in discovering those divergencies of aims which "have led to such a disastrous division of the world" since the end of the war, but they must look elsewhere to discover why Britain and the United States, with much greater power resources to bring into play, acted as though the reverse were true in their efforts to keep Stalin in a mood to co-operate. The record of that story here includes all from Casablanca to Potsdam, and it is not pleasant. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

KIRK, GEORGE E. *A Short History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to Modern Times.* (Washington: Public Affairs Press. 1949. Pp. 301. $3.75.)

Numerous scholarly works have been written on the Greek genius, the rise of Christianity, and the beginnings of Islam but, says George Kirk, "for those made aware by the daily paper that the Middle East is still of great significance in the modern world and desirous of orientating themselves in its recent history, there is no single guide. This book is an attempt to provide that guidance. . . ." Professor Kirk has filled the gap very nicely in his brief but excellent summary of middle eastern history from the seventh century to the present.

In tracing the course of Arabic history from the rise of Islam, Kirk sheds interesting light on Muslim thought, religion, and society. He points out the fatal Arab tendency to political separatism that has plagued the Arabic world for a thousand years. Religiously Islam has suffered from the heresies of the eleventh century which produced an internal crisis "from which it has never completely recovered." Today the importance of Islam lies not so much in its dogma "as in the cohesive force of the system of legal and social regulation for the direction of the Muslim community. . . . The present Machine-Age may have undermined the belief of many educated Muslims in the dogmas of their religion but though they have become free-thinkers or even atheists they remain notwithstanding within the social community of Islam."

Kirk carefully traces European penetration into the Middle East from the sixteenth century up to World War I and then the rise of Arabic nationalism and the gradual winning of independence against British and French imperial designs. His treatment of the Palestine situation is a masterpiece of objectivity. Widespread poverty, malnutrition, and disease stalk the lands of the Middle East and make the role of the new Arab states particularly trying. Kirk sees the ultimate solution to these problems not in improved economy or social conditions, not in democracy or socialism, but in a return to religion which alone divests man of his conceit and restores him to a proper sense of his true place. Only then can civilization be transformed and politics redeemed. In a day when materialistic solutions are the vogue and offered as panaceas for all our accumulated ills, it is refreshing to read the recommendations of a scholar who recognizes the primacy of the spiritual. (JOHN J. CARRIGG)

KREIDER, HARRY J. *The Beginnings of Lutheranism in New York.* (New York: United Lutheran Synod of New York. 1949. Pp. ix, 76. $1.00.)

In connection with the 300th anniversary of the oldest Lutheran church in

America the United Lutheran Synod of New York sponsored this study. The careful research was done by Dr. Harry J. Kreider and an introductory statement by Dr. Frederick R. Knubel, president of the synod, is appended

Although these first American Lutherans spoke the Dutch language like their fellow colonists, they were not tolerated in New Amsterdam which showed marked preference for persons of the Dutch Reformed faith. By curious coincidence the honor of being the first Lutheran congregation is shared by the First Church, Albany, and St. Matthew's Church in New York City. For twenty years the congregation was known as the Lutheran Church of New Netherland, with members in New York and Albany. In 1669 the congregation was divided and the resulting bodies have had a continuous existence to the present.

Dr. Kreider, who is the head of the Committee on Documentary History of the synod, has used a manuscript recently discovered in the archives of the Old Lutheran Church in Amsterdam, a facsimile of which is used as the frontispiece of this book. The entire carefully annotated work is devoted to the portrayal of the inner and outer life of this congregation during the first two decades of its history. There are numerous illustrations and a chart showing the genealogy of New York Lutheranism. (RAYMOND W. ALBRIGHT)

LEE, ALFRED MCCLUNG AND ELIZABETH BRIANT LEE. *Social Problems in America: A Source Book.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1949. Pp. xxi, 741. $4.00.)

Readings drawn from a variety of sources, arranged under the conventional chapter headings found in texts on social problems, provide the main content of this book. An editorial introduction to each chapter suggests—but does no more than that—how the readings may be co-ordinated in the study of the interrelated aspects of problems treated. On the whole, this reviewer is not disposed to raise many questions concerning the selection of readings. Few articles are printed in their entirety, however, and excerpts from "factual" articles or books seem to be longer than those from interpretive or theoretical works, probably because of relative difficulties of abridgment. The reduction of theoretical passages seems so drastic as to make the latter fragmentary and meaningless to the students for whom this book is intended. Catholic readers will note that their views are unrepresented on such moral issues as marriage and divorce, eugenic sterilization, sex education, and the rights of the family and the Church in education. On the subject of contraception, a brief, flat statement from Monsignor John A. Ryan and an expert from *Time's* report of Father Calkins' article on "rhythm" are included, but hardly convey an adequate view of the Catholic position to those who have no other knowledge of it. The whole question of how a social problem is defined is raised in the first chapter of the book; while the approach adopted needs critical discussion, space is not available for it in this review. (C. JOSEPH NUESSE)

LINK, EDITH MURR. *The Emancipation of the Austrian Peasant, 1740-1798.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 204. $3.00.)

Among the proposals for a federated Europe one often finds contemporary writers stressing the strategic position of the Danubian lands. Although there

has been a dearth of literature in English about the Hapsburg lands, American scholars are now beginning to fill this gap. Recently Jerome Blum produced a scholarly treatise on the emancipation of the Austrian peasant in 1848. The earlier chapter of this movement is given us by Edith Link in *Emancipation of the Austrian Peasant, 1740-1798.*

From her careful study of the documents dealing with the emancipation in the German Austrian provinces between 1740-1798, the era of Maria Theresa and Joseph II, Miss Link submits evidence for several conclusive statements. First, the agrarian reforms of Maria Theresa as well as those of Joseph II were a major part of the greatest social reform the world experienced before the social legislation of the nineteenth century. Secondly, although Joseph II may have been a composite of liberalism and absolutism, he was one of the few "self-conscious reformers" in a position of authority before the nineteenth century; one who had a deep, sincere, and lasting sympathy for the peasants. Finally, the failure of his reforms were due, not so much to his personality and the methods used, but rather to foreign affairs and domestic circumstances over which Joseph had little control. "His death came at a critical time. Had he lived," says Miss Link, "the fate of Central Europe might have been different and possibly happier."

People may disagree with some of the author's conclusions; however, this monograph should help the American reader secure a more comprehensive picture of Austria in the last two centuries. (SISTER CLAIR LYNCH)

LOTH, DAVID. *Chief Justice John Marshall and the Growth of the Republic.* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co. 1949. Pp. 395. $5.00.)

Mr. Loth has given to the historical minded public a thorough but easy-reading biography of one of America's great jurists. Although not documented, there is every evidence of careful scholarship and serious study of the historical backgrounds which framed John Marshall's eighty years. In fact, the best feature of the book lies in the fact that Marshall is portrayed amid the interesting characters and forces of his times.

Every man is, to some extent, the product of his age. And Marshall's age encompassed the trying and decisive years of the nation's pre- and post-natal growth, 1755 to 1835. He was a contemporary of "the founding fathers," and of those who succeeded them in nurturing the life of the infant republic. The author very skillfully places Marshall into his proper relationship with these important persons, with no apparent attempt at exaggerating or glorifying his role. And at the same time he sketches very adequately the political events mainly, which acted upon, and which were in turn, reacted to, by John Marshall. He thus makes the famous jurist a product of his times and the social class of which he was a member.

In composing the biography of such an influential figure, the obvious difficulty lies in determining what vital historical events and forces should be covered and to what extent. Mr. Loth displays competence by letting his character be the standard. In other words, he describes those events, persons, and forces only to the extent to which Marshall participated in them. Yet he gives sufficient background for those events which are bound to be hazy or unfamiliar to

the minds of his readers, most of whom are undoubtedly years removed from a course in American history.

The book is especially valuable because of the emphasis which the author places on Marshall's career as chief justice. His years on the federal bench are described with sufficient legal detail and background to enable the layman to understand the reasons why Marshall made such a profound and lasting impression on our constitutional development. Without getting sentimental, the author depicts the chief justice as a likeable fellow—popular, witty but slovenly, and as a dutiful husband to a sickly wife. His wisdom is portrayed with a mixture of his prejudices which is, of course, to be expected. At a time when some of his contemporaries are being dragged down from their pedestals, Chief Justice Marshall is left standing very firmly on his. (WILLIAM A. OSBORNE)

MANUEL, FRANK E. *The Realities of American-Palestine Relations.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 388. $5.00.)

The present volume, one of the better recent American publications on Palestine, is both timely and extremely well written. It embraces the history of Palestine from the establishment of the first American consulate in 1832 to the declaration and establishment of the sovereign, independent state of Israel in 1948. Its content, however, embraces far more than the limited title implies; it is also a study of Zionism in its most fruitful period and of the expansion of American economic and business interests into the Middle East. Prominent consideration is given to each of the following: Palestine as a mandate, the Balfour Declaration, and Palestine partition before the United Nations. Equally prominent is the treatment of the contributions of Theodor Herzl, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Chaim Weizmann, Louis D. Brandeis, and Felix Frankfurter to the development of world Zionism.

This study is largely based upon files and documents of the Department of State, many of which were previously restricted and unavailable to researchers, and also upon the papers of and interviews with persons prominent in the more recent phases of the Palestine question. The accessibility of these sources has enabled Mr. Manuel to present much new information on some aspects of the subject, especially the diplomacy surrounding the establishment of the mandate at the Paris Peace Conference.

The author's central thesis is that American policy with regard to Palestine has been since its inception faltering, inconsistent, contradictory, and openly hostile because of a feeling of American irresponsibility for Palestine; a humanitarianism "attenuated" by the desire for economic penetration into the Near East; the exigencies of practical politics in the United States; and the studied hostility of the Department of State. Of the factors which have given direction to such unfavorable aspects of American foreign policy with regard to Palestine, the State Department is singled out for a major share of the blame. The author condemns its officials as consistently biased, grossly misinformed, or ingenuously hostile to American Jews in Palestine and to Zionistic aims; sometimes "extravagant hostility" was "expressed with a vehemence of language hardly defensible. . . ."

The author's preference to forego "the scholarly polemic and the traditional

substructure of footnotes" leaves much to be desired by the academic reader. Conversely, even the academic reader might, in many instances, have been spared perusing prolix and over-generous quotations from diplomatic files without loss of effect. A more lamentable shortcoming which noticeably weakens the study is the author's anti-British, anti-State Department position which colors much of the volume. In spite of these shortcomings, the author's treatment, which successfully integrates Palestine into the larger stream of American diplomacy, represents a valuable study of the "Palestine question." (BERNARD H. NELSON)

MAYO, LAWRENCE SHAW. *The Winthrop Family in America.* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1948. Pp. x, 507. $25.00.)

In the more than three centuries that have elapsed since John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony and founder of the family in America, boarded the *Arabella* at Southampton, nine generations of Winthrops have been sharing in the making of history and indulging a hereditary fondness for setting down and preserving historical records. The late Lawrence Shaw Mayo did not suffer from any lack of sources in preparing this evaluation of the Winthrops. His problem was to build a series of readable sketches from this wealth of material, and assign the proper weight to each of a large number of subjects (the index lists 471 Winthrops). He seems to have succeeded on both counts.

The family in England is discussed in the introduction and a chapter is devoted to each generation, with brief sketches of "Some Unidentified Winthrops" at the end. Quite naturally, members of the family who stand in boldest relief on the colonial and national scene receive the broadest treatment. The sketches of Governor John, John Winthrop the Younger, "Professor" Winthrop (1714-1779), James Winthrop (1752-1821), and Robert C. Winthrop, Speaker of the House of Representatives (1809-1894) are really biographies in miniature. The analysis of national politics in 1850 in the sketch of the last-named (pp. 323-330) is brilliant.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has outdone itself in the publication of this work, which is not surprising in view of the close association of the Winthrops with the society's history. Bibliographic notes follow each sketch, there are striking portrait reproductions, a coat-of-arms in color, a genealogical chart, and an exhaustive index. All told, it seems fitting to apply to this work the same comment that the *Atlantic Monthly* made in January, 1864, on the appearance of the first volume of Robert C. Winthrop's biography of his ancestor, Governor John: "It has strong recommendations, affording in style, method and spirit, a model for books of the same class, and embracing all those qualities of thoroughness, research, accuracy, good taste, incidental illustration and, above all, an appreciative spirit, which stamps the worth of such labors." (ALLAN J. DOHERTY)

MCDERMOTT, JOHN FRANCIS (ED.) ET AL. *Old Cahokia. A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of Its History.* (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation. 1949. Pp. 355. $4.50; paper $3.00.)

This paper-bound volume covering the period 1699 to 1799 is a collection of

documents with eleven illustrations and interspersed narrations designed to interpret and clarify the source material. Ecclesiastical and civil history in that section of the Mississippi Valley incorporated into the State of Illinois in 1818 began on May 17, 1673, when Louis Joliet and the Jesuit, Father James Marquette, departed from the virgin-mission of St. Ignace at Michillimackinac to explore the Mississippi River. In Holy Week, 1674, Marquette founded an Indian mission near Utica, Illinois. This mission shifted with the aborigines from Starved Rock to Peoria, and then across the Illinois line in Missouri and finally took permanent root at Kaskaskia, Illinois.

Cahokia, the village, probably did not antedate the Cahokia Mission founded by the Seminary of the Foreign Missions located at Quebec. The Priests of the Foreign Missions formally began their work among the 2,000 Indians in May, 1699. The white population recruited from the French and French Canadians increased slowly from a mere dozen in 1723 to 136 in 1752. In 1723 Kaskaskia counted 196 inhabitants and the recently organized village of Fort Chartres had 126. During 100 years Catholic life centered around the old villages in southwestern Illinois and began to move out into the remainder of the state after 1800.

The Peace of Paris, 1763, delivered the Illinois Country to the English, who took formal possession October 10, 1765. George Rogers Clark conquered the northwest territory, including Illinois, for the Americans in 1778. The Superior Council of New Orleans expelled the Jesuits in 1764 and the Priests of the Foreign Missions disbanded and sold their property. As a direct result of the changing civil and ecclesiastical rule, disorder and disintegration in social, religious, and economic life prevailed. It is a tribute to the French Cahokians that they preserved their religion and practical principles of American democracy despite almost insurmountable obstacles. Clarence Walworth Alvord, who published a volume of Cahokia documents and wrote *The Illinois Country* dealing with the period 1673-1818, calls the period 1783 to 1790, the period of the city states. He emphasizes the fact that the "court at Cahokia represented the only stable power in Illinois at the time." There was law and order in Cahokia where the French ruled and chaos where the Americans seized control. (THOMAS F. CLEARY)

NEWTON, EARLE. *The Vermont Story. A History of the People of the Green Mountain State, 1749-1949.* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society. 1949. Pp. x, 282. $7.50.)

There is no short history of Vermont to compare in interest with Earle Newton's richly illustrated, well designed, skillfully written *Vermont Story.* The first of a projected series of state histories, it is an excellent model for its successors. The author, who at thirty-two is the guiding spirit of a rejuvenated Vermont Historical Society, and is engaged in assembling a ten volume authoritative history of the state to be entitled "Growth of Vermont," lays no claim to original research in this book. He shows great ability, however, in dealing with a relatively large mass of second-hand materials. The essays on the early history of Vermont are quite critical and the Green Mountain Boys are shorn of the romanticism with which they have long been endowed. Newton retains good perspective and keeps control over his evident enthusiasm for his adopted state when writing of its past.

Of particular interest are the chapters which deal with the social and economic development of the state, a phase of Vermont's history that has received too little attention in the past. The story of the hardy struggle for existence in the rugged terrain of the Green Mountains and the periodical exodus of whole segments of the population to better opportunities elsewhere, of abandoned farms and quarries, is well told. But Mr. Newton ends on a hopeful note. The twentieth century has witnessed the revival of rural economy with concentration on dairy products and quality produce, the growth of industry, and particularly the tremendous increase in the summer and winter vacation and tourist trade.

Emphasis throughout the book is upon the political and socio-economic aspects of Vermont history. Sections devoted to educational and religious developments are weak. It is regrettable that Mr. Newton should fail to make even passing reference to the considerable group of French Canadian and Irish Catholic immigrants who at present form a good third of the population and who have contributed in no small degree to the economic and cultural growth of Vermont, particularly in the last fifty years. (GERALD E. DUPONT)

NYE, RUSSELL B. *Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1839-1860.* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 273. $4.00.)

This is a thorough study of the struggle of the abolitionists for the realization of their ideas, and even for the right to express these ideas. In the early years of the century slavery was a debatable topic; many eminent statesmen decried it. Mr. Nye touches on this phase and then goes on to the increasing bitterness with the 1830's as probably the dividing line.

The "immediatists" wanted emancipation here and now, whereas the majority who opposed slavery believed in a gradual process. The clamor of the abolitionists aroused the South to a positive defence of slavery and to an attempt to gag their opponents. This was probably to the advantage of the latter, for the attempt to deprive them of their rights aroused many to come to their aid, and the abolitionists became the champions of civil rights. They were popular and they complicated the problem by being "radical" in many fashions. Vegetarians, Fourierites, believers in rights for women, mesmerists, and others were common among them. Even after the Civil War began the abolitionist was an object of ridicule or of hatred. Perhaps, as Holmes said, their theories might have fallen flat if exposed to the air and failed to secure a following if exposed in the forum of public opinion. The slave-owners, anxious about their property, became aroused emotionally. The immediate abolitionists were largely emotional in their appeal and in this conflict of feeling both put reason aside. This conflict of hearts made war possible.

Mr. Nye strikes a remarkable balance in his approach and the book should have a wide appeal. There is a parallel between the abolitionists and Jehovah's Witnesses. Both were willing to risk a great deal for their opinions and both have had to face widespread opposition. Reason, or even ridicule, is more powerful than repression. The book has a fine bibliography and is well indexed.

(BASIL LEO LEE)

OSTERWEIS, ROLLIN G. *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1949. Pp. x, 275. $3.75.)

"The civilization of the Old South," says the author, "rested on a tripod—cotton and the plantation system forming one leg. Negro slavery a second. Historians have generally described the third in terms of the chivalric cult, with relatively little concern for the origin, nature and significance of that cult." It is with this neglected third leg of the tripod that this book deals, but more particularly with showing that the chivalric cult itself was only a phase of a greater "romantic impact."

Mr. Osterweis finds romanticism expressed as chivalry particularly in Virginia. In the region about Charleston he finds rather a special consciousness of nationalism, while in the Gulf states about New Orleans the tendency is to an imperialism. The author considers the influence of the novels of Sir Walter Scott on the South a bit overestimated; neither does he agree with the Freudian expression of W. J. Cash (*Mind of the South*) that the cult of chivalry came as a result of a 'guilt complex' because of the shame of slavery. He thinks this view is a "projection of twentieth century standards" into the reading.

As he correctly points out there was no widespread feeling in the South that there was anything evil in one's having slaves. Prominent churchmen had slaves and defended slavery and, in fact, gave a very good case for the institution. Not slavery but abolitionism was attacked as immoral. This opinion was confirmed when it was found that the abolitionists were much in accord with the European revolutionists, the Red-Republicans, the Fourierists, and—a matter that meant something at least to Catholics—the Know-Nothings. That is why men like Kossuth received no welcome in the South. The southern leaders of the 1850's would not be flattered to be called, as Osterweis refers to them, "the Mazzinis and Cavours of Southern nationalism."

It is not the material of this book that is new but the approach. This is a particularly valuable volume for the appreciation of the ante-bellum South and, perhaps, even for an understanding of much in the southern way of life in the twentieth century. (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

RAGATZ, LOWELL. *March of Empire. The European Overseas Possesions on the Eve of the First World War.* (New York: H. L. Lindquist. 1949. Pp. xi, 92. $3.50.)

The historical limits of this book—1898 to 1914—would scarcely make it attractive to the general reader and it may be regarded as having been more particularly addressed to the scholarly world. Since the author attempted to cover the chief developments in all colonial possessions his work should either have been an exhaustive compendium running into many volumes, or else a short but informative survey. The book is neither, it is short but certainly not an adequate survey. In trying to cover too much the author has allowed oversimplification and factual inaccuracy to enter. To discuss the British Empire from Rhodesia to Weihawei in twenty-six pages cannot but result in a work of boundless superficiality, neither distinguished by interpretation nor by such information as any reader could not obtain from standard works.

From the point of view of mere rehashing of selected facts the sections on the British and French empires are, perhaps the most adequate, while the rest of the book dealing with other empires contains many glaring omissions and inaccuracies. For example, in the section on the German Empire there is no reference to Dernburg, the founder of Germany's colonial might; in the Italian section nothing of Gallieni and no mention of the special administrative arrangements effected with the Senussi tribes in 1905; of the relations between the Belgian Congo and neighboring colonies in this period not a word, nor of the significant colonization attempts of Russia in Iran. The ports of Portugese India had not "fallen into complete stagnation by the early 1900's" as Dr. Ragatz believes; their trade in cottons alone rivaled that of Bombay (cf. de Paolo's studies). Forced labor was not abolished in Indonesia in 1914, it was still in existence by 1940; native relations in Indonesia did not "enter a new stage in 1905" with Dutch supervision of vassal revenues because this existed in practice since 1887; the Dutch word for people's council is not *Volksrad* and this body did not start to function in 1916 but in 1919. Of the origins of nationalism in Indonesia and in Indo-China which is of importance today there is not a word.

The book also contains a bibliography, based on Mr. Ragatz' forthcoming "Literature of European Imperialism, 1815—1939." Perhaps it was the author's intention to list only works published in the period under discussion, for there is hardly a publication in this bibliography which is not at least from thirty to forty years old. Consequently it is valueless since most recent standard works are omitted. For example, Roberts' excellent two-volume survey on the French Empire; the source collections of Muir on the British; de Paolo on the Portuguese de Kat Angelino (a masterpiece, of which a good English translation exists) on the Dutch, Graf Peil on the German; de Lannoy on the Belgian, etc. This book fulfills no need. (JUSTUS M. VAN DER KROEF)

ROUCEK, JOSEPH S. (ED.) *Slavonic Encyclopaedia.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1949. Pp. xi, 1445. $18.50.)

Owing to the increasing interest in Slavic Europe, an encyclopaedia devoted principally to the Slavs is a most welcome contribution not only to the field of history, but to all the social sciences. The *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* contains in one volume an incredible amount and assortment of information much of which is available in no other similar work. There are some very fine sections on Slavic art and architecture, language, history, literature, and philosophy which were written with a high degree of scholarship and afford the investigator an extensive fund of specialized information.

Space allotted to certain topics, however, seems to be entirely out of proportion to their relative significance. For example, the Union of Brest (Brest Sobor) of 1596, the importance of which in the political and ecclesiastical history of eastern Europe is outstanding, is treated very superficially with a few lines, while several pages are given for the inclusion of some ten Soviet war poems. Moreover, certain statements concerning Russian foreign policy are quite inconsistent with present western views. In the section entitled "Slavs and Their Aims," it is observed that the USSR will enable the Slavic peoples to exert their influence and ensure their security "for which . . . they . . . have so stub-

bornly and so painfully struggled. And the Slav States . . . will cooperate with the great democracies of the west and with all peace-loving peoples in the task of ensuring peace and the just ordering of society in Europe and throughout the world" (p. 1174). Had political events been studied as of 1949 instead of 1945-1946, it would certainly have been possible to arrive at a more realistic evaluation of Russia's predatory role in current world politics.

The shortcomings of the work, however, do not detract seriously from its general merit. Compiling the *Slavonic Encyclopaedia* was a tremendous undertaking. Its editors and collaborators are to be complimented for making available to the student of eastern Europe a very useful and much needed reference. (THADDEUS V. TULEJA)

SCHAUINGER, J. HERMAN. *William Gaston, Carolinian.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1949. Pp. ix, 242. $3.25.)

In the historiography of Americana some men are reckoned great because the period or the office they held, in a great measure, thrust greatness upon them. There are other individuals who possessed sterling qualities in themselves which they brought to every activity of their lives and thus had offices, private and public, thrust upon them. They merited greatness in the eyes of their contemporaries as well as of posterity by applying, without deviation, moral principles to whatever task confronted them; but because they sometimes did not occupy the major national offices the details of their memory have become dim and their name alone belongs to history. Modern historical studies have a wide field for re-examination and re-evaluation of such men. It is to this latter category that William Gaston of North Carolina belongs. All available sources demonstrate his eminence as a man, a Christian gentleman, an exemplary and active citizen, and a conscientious public servant who labored strenuously and out of principle for his state and nation. Gaston is, indeed, in the first rank of North Carolina's great sons and he became so in a period all the elements of which conspired against him, or would have, but for undeniable qualities that compelled his contemporaries to recognize him. His success was built on many virtues; the outstanding one—his ardent religious faith.

Such is the nature of this biography. Although it is a popular presentation with some literary style, the author gives evidence of scholarship, research, and restrained interpretation. The biographical development is amplified into an analysis of the period in a readable, interesting fashion. Yet, scholarship is not sacrificed and all available sources known to this reviewer are used. There are better, more detailed, more thorough studies on Gaston but they are for the student of history. It is of great importance that writers, like the author of this work, who have the training, historical sense, and ability for popular presentation, continue to "unbury" these intriguing personalities who demonstrated in their lives what we would like to designate "American virtues." They need to be known and to be imitated. (CUTHBERT E. ALLEN)

SCHONS, DOROTHY. *Book Censorship in New Spain.* [New World Studies. Book II.] (Austin: University of Texas. 1949. Pp. xviii, 45.)

This study of punitive censorship in Mexico between 1574 and 1699 is based

on correspondence in the National Archives of Madrid. There are extracts from ninety-six letters of Spanish origin; sixteen letters originally from Mexico support the conclusion that Inquisition officials in the new world were also active in delating suspect titles, especially when the latter dealt with local situations or with religious books in Indian languages. Censorship was effective in keeping Protestant doctrinal works out of the Spanish Indies; it was not established, the author emphasizes, "to prevent the circulation of indecent works. It was set up to defend the faith" (p. xi). This study is important not only for its coherent, translated summary of hard to procure archival material but also for showing that about forty percent more books were listed for expurgation, correction, or prohibition than were included in the official Roman Indexes. Expurgation incidentally was the more common entry. In several cases Lea is shown faulty in judgment, as when he accused the Inquisition of a capricious policy. "Reading the letter files, one gets a very mild picture of the Inquisition," is a conclusion that summarizes the author's presentation. One might question the undocumented statement that "each religious order had its own interpretation of certain Christian doctrines" (p. xvi). Possibly the quarrel between the Jesuits and Carmelites that resulted in a 1697 ban against the *Acta Sanctorum* may have led to that conclusion. As a study of censorship in action this is a most interesting work and one that should lead to similar research in other colonial areas.

(EUGENE P. WILLGING)

STIRLING, BRENTS. *The Populace in Shakespeare.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 203. $3.00.)

This book consists of six chapters, of which Chapters III, IV, and V constitutes the essential parts. Chapter III reviews and analyzes the existing scholarship and Chapter IV, the heart of the work, presents the main body of evidence and reasoning about the problem. This task Professor Stirling has accomplished very commendably, bringing to it a keen dramatic and literary sensitivity and a penetrating historical approach, and he has elaborated his materials substantially and significantly beyond the *in parvo* form in which they first appeared (cf. *Huntington Library Quarterly,* VIII, 213-240). His main thesis seems to be that the state of mind which ultimately resulted in the Commonwealth was incipiently in being in the sixteenth century and especially during those years when the historical undercurrents to which Shakespeare would have been most responsive were running, i.e., roughly 1585 to 1608. This state of mind is clearly reflected in the politico-religious writings of that period. Conservative writers centered their satire upon such non-conformist elements as the Anabaptists, attempting to establish a link in the public mind between them and the Puritans, to generate a myth that such religious groups were plotting a complete social leveling and a communistic society, and thus to identify those groups with mob psychology and rebellion. Shakespeare's audience reacted as a body preconditioned by this sort of propaganda. To this reviewer it seems that these findings constitute a substantial and important addition to our knowledge of Shakespeare's dramatic practice. Only at one point in the book does there seem to be a serious misinterpretation of a text (p. 60). Here Mr. Stirling represents that Shakespeare's famous portrait of a foppish popinjay (I *Henry IV,* 1.3. 36-45)

has reference to "the stench of massed commoners." It is obvious that the courtier was offended by the stench of dead bodies and not by the smell of the untaught knaves who brought them "betwixt the wind and his nobility."

In Chapters I and VI, where he is dealing largely with the function of the critic, Professor Stirling seems less rewarding and less certain of his way. It is disconcerting, to say the least, to find a scholar of his obvious abilities distinguishing between "the historical-esthetic" literary critic as "opposed" to the "social-historical" literary critic and referring to them as antagonists who represent different "schools" of critical thought and live in constant fear that "the opposed view will become . . . dominant" (pp. 3-6, especially p. 6). If the present reviewer is correct in thinking that the primary function of the literary critic is to come at length to contemplate the literary object with the fullest possible knowledge of the true nature of that object as it is in itself, then it seems to follow that the literary critic who studies the history of literary forms and the literary critic who studies, let us say, the contemporary background of Shakespeare's mob scenes are doing one and the same thing. Professor Stirling is no doubt well aware of all this, but he would confuse his readers less if he would distinguish more sharply the primary aims of a literary critic. Granting the truth of the statement that "our crisis is a social one" (p. 6) it does not necessarily follow that the literary critic will discover useful information for our society by studying the social aspects of the literature of a past age, and this same holds true for other studies he might make in that literature of its religion, philosophy, military science, crime and punishment, etc., etc. The effective literary critic is apt to acquire a great variety of knowledge as he goes about his task, but he should not permit this to divert him from his true aim, which is to evaluate literary art. (H. Edward Cain)

Trochu, Francis. *Le bienheureux Pierre-Julien Eymard. Fondateur de la Congrégation des Prêtres et de celle des Servantes du Très Saint Sacrement (1811-1868).* (Paris: Éditions Emmanuel Vitte. 1949. Pp. x, 501. 480 frs.)

This biography deals with a period in French religious history in which Monsignor Trochu has previously shown admirable competence. His stature as one of our best modern hagiographers is in no way diminished by the present volume.

Eymard is shown forth in these pages as a man who became a finely tempered instrument in the hands of God. Dominated throughout his life by an extraordinary love for the Blessed Sacrament, he was relatively late in arriving at that point in his career where he could give full expression to that love. For five years he labored as a diocesan priest. For seventeen years he lived the religious life among the Marist Fathers. It was not until he had reached the age of forty-five that he was able to begin that special work towards which his whole life thus far had been divinely directed. He then founded the Congregation of the Priests of the Most Blessed Sacrament, which congregation now numbers 1200 members, in sixty-two "Cenacles," spread through eighteen countries. Adoration of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament was conceived by Father Eymard as the great need of his age, and to promote it he gladly sacrificed everything. In the midst of intense mental and physical suffering, his love made him say, "The

Cross is better than Tabor." And in direct poverty his simple faith and confidence could call forth the dictum, "It is up to the King to provide food for His soldiers." Such love, faith, and trust in his eucharistic King colored his entire life.

There is a wealth of documentation throughout the book. Notes from the spiritual diaries of Eymard, excerpts from his sermons and letters, and testimony gathered during the process for his beatification provide the solid basis upon which Monsignor Trochu builds this fascinating study. A satisfactory index adds to the value of the volume. (FRANCIS O. CORCORAN)

WHITTLESEY, DERWENT. *Environment Foundations of European History.* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. Pp. xiii, 160. $2.25.)

Professor Whittlesey, a geographer, began this book in 1939 at the request of and in consultation with his colleagues who were teaching History I at Harvard. In typescript it served for several years as outside reading to give the class in mediaeval and modern European history some understanding of the geography of Europe. In a chapter for each of the four great epochs of its history a dynamic European society is traced as it spread over an ever changing habitat. Items of material culture are shown as evidences of the impact of the natural environment on the people who in turn modified the habitat by the very process of occupance and utilization of available resources. The last chapter surveys four possible avenues of future development each with an historical precedent. There are fourteen maps, most of them of the easily visualized physiographic types, showing various cultural or natural phenomena superimposed over pen and ink sketches of the terrain. An appendix lists and gives a brief appraisal of a number of maps, atlases, and geography books on Europe. (KENNETH BERTRAND)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Intellectual History and Its Problems. Franklin L. Baumer (*Jrn. of Modern History,* Sept.).

The Law and the Universities. Daniel A. Binchy (*Studies,* Sept.).

Democracy, Ancient and Modern. G. C. Field (*Cambridge Jrn.,* Nov.).

The Structure of History. A. MacC. Armstrong (*ibid.*).

On Religious Freedom. John Courtney Murray, S.J. (*Theolog. Studies,* Sept.).

Marxism, Revolution, and Democracy: 1848 and 1948. John D. Lewis (*Jrn. of Politics,* Aug.).

Marxism: 1848 and 1948. Eduard Heimann (*ibid.*).

The Structure and Strategy of Revolution: 1848 and 1948. Sigmund Neumann (*ibid.*).

The Prospects of Representative Democracy: 1848 and 1948. Leslie Lipson (*ibid.*).

Constitutional Dictatorship in the Atomic Age. Clinton L. Rossiter (*Rev. of Politics,* Oct.).

Political Ideology, Propaganda, and Public Law of the Romans: ius imaginum and consecratio imperatorum. Eberhard F. Bruck (*Seminar* [*Jurist*], Vol. VII).

Bureaucracy and the Roman Law. A. Arthur Schiller (*ibid.*).

Francesco Suarez internazionalista. A Messineo, S.I. (*Civiltà cattolica,* Aug.).

Antichità cristiane. Le catacombe di Malta. A. Ferrua, S.I. (*ibid.,* Sept.).

Paulus und der Hellenismus. R. Bultmann (*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Aug.).

Topographie du siège de Jérusalem en 70. By F. M. Abel (*Revue biblique,* Apr.).

The Christian Book and the Greek Papyir. C. H. Roberts, F.B.A. (*Jrn. of Theolog. Studies,* July).

Pre-Leonine Elements in the Proper of the Roman Mass. F. L. Cross (*ibid.*).

The Collection of African Canons in 'Madrid University (Noviciado MS.53.' F. L. Cross (*ibid.*).

Le cristianisme en face de l'Etat Romain. E. Griffe (*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique,* July).

Le décret du Concile de Trente sur la justification, 13 janvier 1547. Ferdinand Cavallera (*ibid.*).

Römischer Palast und Dionysos-Mosaik in Köln. Ernstwilhelm Gerster (*Theologische Literaturzeitung,* Feb. 1948).

Sur quelques signes chrétiens. R. du Mesnil du Buisson (*Rivista di archeologia cristiana,* nos. 1-4, 1947-1948).

Eine ueberkannte Augustinus Handschrift in der Zentralbibliothek zu Zürich. L. C. Mohlberg (*ibid.*).

La chiesa di San Nicola e Cataldo in Lecce e le due iscrizioni relative alla sua fondazione. B. De Sanctis (*ibid.*).

Qualche dato sulla basilica milanese di San Simpliciano con una tavola fuori testo. E. Arslan (*ibid.*).

Note di agiografia forlivese. A. Pasini (*ibid.*).

Ricerche intorno alla Memoria Apostolorum con 12 tavole fuori testo. F. Tolotti (*ibid.*).

Ricomposizione delle *imagines* di due coniugi nella parte centrale di un sarcofago del IV secolo. G. Bovini (*ibid.*).

La basilichetta trichora del Salvatore a Catania. G. Agnello (*ibid.*).

La basiliche paleocristiane di Aquileia. S. Stucchi (*ibid.*).

Indagini del Duomo di Pola con una tavola fuori testo. M. Mirabella Roberti (*ibid.*).

Il battistero di Grado. P. L. Zovatto (*ibid.*).

La chiesa di S. Maria di Vescovio, antica cattedrale di Sabina. B. M. Apolloni Ghetti (*ibid.*).

Berakah and Eucharistia. R. D. Richardson (*Church Quart. Rev.*, No. 296, July).

L'Affaire Nestorius vue de Rome (suite). E. Amann (*Revue des sciences religieuses*, May).

L'indigence spirituelle du devenir collectif et de son histoire. M. Nédoncelle (*ibid.*).

L'authenticité de la *Tradition apostolique* de saint Hippolyte. D. B. Botte (*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, July).

Saint Benoit, le Maitre et Cassiodore. D. F. Vandenbroucke (*ibid.*).

Une adaptation du *De officiis* au XII[e] siècle: le *Moralium dogma philosophorum*. Ph. Delhaye (*ibid.*).

Saint Thomas d'Aquin à la faculté des arts de Paris aux approches de 1277. D. O. Lottin (*ibid.*).

Peter of Poitiers and Simon of Tournai on the Trinity. J. N. Garvin (*ibid.*).

Les *Indices* des deux Sommes de S. Thomas d'Aquin par la Commission "léonine." St. Axters, O.P. (*ibid.*).

Distiques et notices propres au synaxaire de Chifflet. François Halkin (*Analecta Bollandiana*, Vol. LXVI, 1948).

Les sources de la vie de S. Cassien, évêque d'Autun. Baudouin de Gaiffier (*ibid.*).

S. Saturnin de Toulouse venait-il d'Orient? Baudouin de Gaiffier (*ibid.*).

Une fiction d'origine rhénane: S. Suibert, évêque-martyr de Bethléem. Maurice Coens (*ibid.*).

Un prétendu sanctuaire romain de S. Denys de Paris. Raymond J. Loenertz (*ibid.*).

Jacques de Saroug appartient-il à la secte monophysite? Paul Peeter (*ibid.*).

Trois pièces sur S. Senán. Paul Grosjean (*ibid.*).

Le Miracle posthume de S. Thomas l'Apôtre. Paul Devos (*ibid.*).

Les avatars de S. Hilarinus. Baudouin de Gaiffier (*ibid.*).

Hellenica 1939-1948. Contributions grecques aux études hagiographiques. François Halkin (*ibid.*).

Bulletin d'hagiographie italo-grecque. François Halkin (*ibid.*).

Hagiographie hispanique. Baudouin de Gaiffier (*ibid.*).

S. Hilarius Pictaviensis de praedestinatione Verbi Incarnati. Gabriel Giamberardini, O.F.M. (*Miscellanea Francescana*, Apr.).

Storia e leggenda intorno alla nascità di S. Francesco d'Assisi (III, contin. e fine). Giuseppe Abate, O.F.M. Conv. (*ibid.*).

Sergius Bulgakow zur Lehre des hl. Augustinus über das Bild der Heiligsten Dreifaltigkeit im Menschen. B. Schultze (*Orientalia christiana periodica*, Vol. XV, Nos. 1-2).

Residui di rito bizantino nelle regioni balcano-danubiane nell'alto medioevo. Al. L. Tăutu (*ibid.*).

Das Konzil von Florenz in Rom. George Hofmann (*ibid.*).

Origen ideologico del palamismo en un documento de David Disipato. M. Candal (*ibid.*).

Eulogie Palestinesi. B. Bagatti (*ibid.*).

Il metropolita Cirillo di Trebionda ed una sua protesta contro Innocenzo X. Ciro Gainnelli-Pio Pecchiai (*ibid.*).

Ecrits de Macaire Macres et de Manual Paléologue dans les mss. Vat. gr. 1107 et Crypten. 161. Raymond J. Loenertz (*ibid.*).

Augustinus und Irenäus. B. Altaner (*Theologische Quartalschrift*. Heft II, 1949).

Les deux phases de l'inquiétude religieuse chez saint Augustin. F. Cayré, A.A. (*L'Année théologique*, Fasc. II-III, 1949).

La théologie d'après le Bréviloque de Saint Bonaventure. G. Tavard (*ibid.*).

Initium omnis peccati superbia: Augustine on Pride as the First Sin. William M. Green (*University of California Publication in Classical Philology*, Vol. 13, No. 13, pp. 407-432).

Dutch Tribal Problems. B. H. Slicher van Bath (*Speculum*, July).
The Supposed Russian Attack on Constantinople in 907: Evidence of the Pseudo-Symeon. R. J. H. Jenkins (*ibid.*).
The Relation of Property and Dominion to the Law of Nature. Edgar W. Lacy (*ibid.*).
A propos du chapitre premier du De temporum ratione de Bède. A. Cordoliani (*Moyen âge*, 3-4, 1948).
La croyance en la justice immanente à l'époque féodale. Paul Rousset (*ibid.*).
Encore la clause ardennaise du traité de Meersen. P. Gorissen (*Moyen âge*, Nos. 1-2, 1949).
Une relation inédite de l'ambassade française au papa Benoit XIII en 1407. André Bossuat (*ibid.*).
Survivances et transformations d'une seigneurie médiévale au début du XVI^e^ siècle. Marg. Boulet (*ibid.*).
La scuola miniaturistica di S. Eutizio in Valcastoriana presso Norcia nei secoli X-XII (pl. 1-13). Pietro Pirri (*Scriptorium*, Vol. III (1949), Fasc. 1).
Un manuscrito desconocido de San Ireneo "Adversus Haereses" (pl. 13). A. M. Olivar (*ibid.*).
Les remaniements d'un légendier, témoins de l'évolution de la liturgie romaine du XIII^e^ siècle (Paris lat. 755) (pl. 14-15). L. M. J. Delaisse (*ibid.*).
La reliure des manuscrits du S. Cuthbert et de S. Boniface. B. van Regemorter (*ibid.*).
Un court poème en l'honneur des Quarante martyrs de Sébaste dans le Paris. gr. 476. D. Amand (*ibid.*).
Les sermons français inédits de Jean Gerson pour les fêtes de l'Annonciation et de la Purification (suite). L. Mourin (*ibid.*).
Un manuscrit de comput et d'astronomie des XII^e^-XIV^e^ s.: le ms 467 de l'Université de Glasgow. A. Cordoliani (*ibid.*).
Le ms 10 de Grand et l'édition incunable, par Thierry Maertens, du Discours de Barbaro pour l'election de Maximilien (pl. 16). F. Masai (*ibid.*).
Le plus ancien ms du drame de "Joseph" en Haut-Engadinois (Suisse). L. Mourin (*ibid.*).
L'"Epitre d'un complaignant l'abusif gouvernement du pape" de Jean Marot (1511). J.-B. Colbert de Beaulieu (*ibid.*).
Un trésor injustement oublié : les manuscrits enluminés du nord de la France (période pré-gothique). A. Boutemy (*ibid.*).
Sir John Fastolf's Manuscripts of the "Epitre d'Othea" and Stephen Scrope's Translation of his Text. C. F. Buhler (*ibid.*).
A Note on Goethe's Palaeographical Studies. J. Hennig (*ibid.*).
Une copie de la scolie de Gerbert à l'Arithmétique de Boèce (I. II, c. I). H. Silvestre (*ibid.*).
Un livre sur le maître de Marie de Bourgogne. F. Lyna (*ibid.*).
Considérations sur un évangéliaire irlandais: le Livre de Kells. T. Burckhardt (*ibid.*)
Monumenta Germaniae Historica. J. Lambert (*ibid.*).
Anglo-Saxon Studies on Illumination. Supplement to the Bibliography 1939-1945. O. Pächt (*ibid.*).
Les publications belges relatives aux manuscrits, 1946-1947 (2 ème partie). J. Lambert (*ibid.*).
Un Asclépiodote de Leyde copié par Pierre Rezander. K. A. De Meyier (*ibid.*).
Le collectaire et le missel de G. Natalis, abbé de Saint-Laurent de Liège. F. Masai (*ibid.*).
Note sur la date de la Vita Balderici. Ch. Dereine (*ibid.*).
Les manuscrits des bibliothèques d'Espagne. Notes de voyage. J. Leclercq (*ibid.*).
Une étude sur les miniatures mosanes prégothiques. A. Boutemy (*ibid.*).
Die Theologie der Frühscholastik im Lichte der Handschriftenforschung. Martin Grabman (*Theologische Revue*, No. 2, 1949).

Spannungen in der Frauenkultur auf der Hohe des Mittelalters. Hashagen (*Theologische Quartalschrift*, Heft I, 1949).
Latin Tractates on Preaching: A Book-List. Harry Caplan and Henry H. Kind (*Harvard Theolog. Rev.*, July).
Monastics and Seculars under Yaroslav the Wise. R. P. Casey (*ibid.*).
The Alleged Fourth Book on the Sentences of Odo Rigaud and Related Documents. Kilian F. Lynch, O.F.M. (*Franciscan Studies*, June).
Christologia S. Bernardini Senensis (*Finis*). Partinus Bertagna (*Collectanea Franciscana*, Jan. 1948).
Documenti inediti sull'apostolato del Minori Cappuccini nel vicino Oriente (1623-1683). Ignazio da Seggiano (*ibid.*).
Über neuere Beiträge zur Geschichte der vortridentinischen franziskanischen Predigt. Bonaventura von Mehr (*ibid.*).
Zur Chronologie des Lebens des hl. Fidelis von Sigmaringen. Siegfried von Kaiserstuhl (*ibid.*).
Corrispondenza del Nunzio G. B. Agucchi con P. Giacinto da Casale nell'anno 1625. Giancrisostomo da Cittadella (*ibid.*).
De Sancto Bernardino Senensi et de ratione editionis Operum eiusdem. Ottokar Bonmann, O.F.M. (*Antonianum*, 24 (1949), Fasc. 2-3).
Dante and Myth. Charles S. Singleton (*Jrn. of the Hist. of Ideas*, Oct.).
Zur Problematik der kirchlichen Misstände im Spätmittelalter. Joseph Lortz (*Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift*, July).
The Lost Book of Privileges of Columbus Located and Identified. Frederick W. Meisnest (*Huntington Library Quart.*, Aug.).
Política do Espírito no ultramar Português. António Brasio (*Portugal em Africa: Revista de cultura missionária*, Jan. 1949).
Los Dominicos y el Concilio de Trento, III. Alejandro del Cura, O.P. (*La Ciencia Tomista*, July).
A Controversy at the Council of Trent concerning the Doctrine of Duns Scotus. Valens Heynck (*Franciscan Studies*, Sept.).
Entre Varsovie et Ispahan. Le P. Ignace-Francois Zapolski, S.I. Joseph Krzyszkowski, S.I. (*Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, Jan.).
Il matematico Francesco Maurolico e i Gesuiti. Mario Scaduto, S.I. (*ibid.*).
Lo Scisma del Patroado nel Ceylon. Beda Barcatta (*Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, fasc. 4, 1949).
Betrieb der Hospitaler St. Joseph und St. Anna der Franziskaner in Miyako 1547-1597). Dorotheus Schilling (*ibid.*).
Les VI[e] et VII[e] Congrès internationaux d'études byzantines. P. Lemerle (*Revue historique*, July).
The Catholic and Dissident Churches of the East. Emil Herman, S.J. (*Unitas*, July).
The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary in the Russian Church. Nicholas Ladomersky (*ibid.*).

EUROPEAN

Histoire de France au moyen âge. Robert Boutruche (*Revue historique*, July).
Louis I[er] d'Anjou, la Provence et Marseille. Edmond-René Labande (*Moyen âge*, Nos. 3-4, 1948).
Frédéric-Jérôme de la Rochefoucauld, abbé de Cluny (1747-1757). G. Charvin (*Revue Mabillon*, Sept.).
Father Jahn's Nationalism [Napoleonic Period]. Hans Kohn (*Rev. of Politics*, Oct.).
The Nuremberg Trial: Legal Analysis. Hans Leonhardt (*ibid.*).
Chateubriand, diplomate et homme d'état. Louis-Philippe Gagnon (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Oct.).
Censorship of Literature under the Second Empire. Philip Spencer (*Cambridge Jrn.*, Oct.).

Il Papato e l'Italia nell'ordine politico e sociale. A. Oddone, S.I. (*Civiltà cattolica*, Oct.).
Il Papato e l'indipendenza e libertà d'Italia. A. Oddone, S.I. (*ibid.*, Nov.).
Archives, bibliothèques et oeuvres d'art en Italie durant la guerre. Émile-G. Léonard (*Revue historique*, July).
El Problema de los Origenes Vascos. P. Bosch-Gimpera (*Eusko-Jakintza*, Vol. III, No. 1).
Itinerario de la conquista de España por los musulmanes. Claudio Sanchez-Albornoz (*Cuadernos de historia de España*, Vol. X, 1948).
Los Jueces de Castilla. José Maria Ramos y Loscertales (*ibid.*).
Nuevos datos sobre el canciller Ayala. Amada López de Meneses (*ibid.*).
O IV Centenário do nascimento de Francisco Suárez. Manual Paulo Merêa (*Boletim da Faculdade de Direito da Universidade de Coimbra*, Fasc. II, 1948).
El Monasterio de El Escorial, sus arquitectos y artifices. Luciano Rubio (*Ciudad de Dios*, Jan.).
La vida alternante de Baltasar Gracian en la Compañia de Jesus. Miguel Batllori, S.I. (*Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, Jan.).
La emigración liberal española de 1823. Vicente Llorens Castillo (*Filosofiá y letras*, Jan. 1949).
Goethe and the Jesuits. John Hennig (*Thought*, Sept.).
The Social Democrats of the Conflict of Nationalities in the Hapsburg Monarchy (*Jrn. of Modern Hist.*, Sept.).
Rebuilding the German Constitution, II. Carl J. Friedrich (*Amer. Political Science Rev.*, Aug.).
The Congress of Gniezno in the Year 1000. Anthony F. Czazkowski (*Speculum*, July).
Hungary's Place in Europe. George Baross (*Jrn. of Central European Affairs*, July).
Latvia and the Soviet Union, Part II. Mintauts Cakste (*ibid.*).
Solowjew und Dostojewski. B. Schultze (*Orientalia christiana periodica*, Vol. XV, Nos. 1-2).
Wladimir Solowjows Stellung zur katholischen Kirche. Heinrich Falk (*Stimmen der Zeit*, Aug.).
Le Chiese ortodosse e il comunismo. G. De Vries, S.I. (*Civiltà cattolica*, Oct.).
Geschichte des sowjetrussischen dialektischen Materialismus. Gustav A. Wetter, S.J. (*Stimmen der Zeit*, Sept. 1947).

BRITISH EMPIRE

Der Oxforder Theologe Richardus Rufus, O.F.M., über die Frage: "Utrum Christus in triduo mortis fuerit homo." Fr. Pelster, S.J. (*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, July).
William of Middleton and Guibert of Nogent. B. Smalley (*ibid.*).
The Shrewsbury MS. of the *Disputationes* of Simon of Tournai. A. C. Lawson (*ibid.*).
English Masters and Students in Paris during the XIIth Century. A. L. Gabriel (*Analecta Praemonstratentia*, 25 [1949] fasc. 1-2).
Some Aspects of the Legation of Cardinal Otto in England, 1237-41. Dorothy M. Williamson (*English Histor. Rev.*, Apr.).
Chaucer and the 'Pitous Deeth' of 'Petro, Glorie of Spayne.' Henry Savage (*Speculum*, July).
Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth Century England. D. W. Robertson, Jr. (*ibid.*).
Joseph of Exeter: the Cambridge Manuscript. Geoffrey B. Riddehough (*ibid.*).
Three Mediaeval English Alabasters in French Churches. August S. Tavender (*ibid.*).
'Wirk alle thyng by conseil.' Curt F. Buhler (*ibid.*).
Satan, Langland, and the North. Alfred L. Kellogg (*ibid.*).

Lord Acton and the Vatican Council. Clarence L. Hohl, Jr. (*Historical Bulletin*, Nov.).
Newman and Devotion to Our Lady. T. A. Murphy, C.SS.R. (*Irish Eccl. Rec.*, Nov.).
The Mandate. T. E. Utley (*Cambridge Jrn.*, Oct.).
The Report of the Royal Commission on Population. R. A. Fisher and R. F. Harrold (*ibid.*).
The identification of some pestilences recorded in the Irish Annals. Sir William P. MacArthur (*Irish Histor. Studies*, Mar.).
Writers in the 'Nation,' 1842-5. Kevin M. MacGrath (*ibid.*).
Research on Irish history in Irish universities, 1948-9 (*ibid.*).
Douglas Hyde: 1860-1949. Gerard Murphy (*Studies*, Sept.).
Henry of London, Archbishop of Dublin. Aubrey Gwynn (*ibid.*).
Origins of the Royal Irish Academy. Charles O'Connor (*ibid.*).
Prisoner into Politician [Eamon de Valera]. Mary C. Bromage (*Rev. of Politics*, Oct.).

AMERICANA

Zur gegenwärtigen Lage der katholischen historisch-theologischen Wissenschaft in den USA. Berthold Altaner (*Theologische Revue*, No. 1, 1948).
The American Epoch in the Catholic Church. Evelyn Waugh (*Month*, Nov.).
Church and State in Contemporary Protestant Thought with Special Reference to the American Scene. Edwin E. Aubrey (*Jrn. of Religion*, July).
An Ancient Mission among a Great People. Anna Dill Gamble (*Records of the Amer. Cath. Histor. Society of Phila.*, Sept.).
The Pastors of Conewago, 1750-1880 (*ibid.*).
Madawaska on the River St. John: New England's Last Frontier. William L. Lucey, S.J. (*ibid.*).
Some Random Notes on Catholics of the American Revolution. Edited by Edward A. Mallon (*ibid.*).
Religious Freedom in the Constitutions of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. John Casey (*ibid.*).
The Religion of George Washington. Arthur B. Kinsolving (*Histor. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, Sept.).
The American Newspaper of the Early Nineteenth Century. Brendan C. McNally (*Historical Bulletin*, Nov.).
The Coming of Archbishop Alemany to California. John B. McGloin (*ibid.*).
John Nelson's Mission to the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, 1831-1832. Howard R. Marraro (*Maryland Histor. Mag.*, Sept.).
Philip Mazzei on American Political, Social, and Economic Problems. Ed. and Trans. by Howard R. Marraro. (*Jrn. of Southern Hist.*, Aug.).
Italians in New York in the Eighteen Fifties, Part II. Howard R. Marraro (*New York Hist.*, July.).
A Social History of St. Mary Parish, 1845-1860. Jewell Lynn de Grummond (*ibid.*, Jan. 1949).
Some French Soldiers Who Became Louisiana Educators. Simone de la Souchère Délery (*Louisiana Histor. Quart.*, Oct. 1948).
A Study of the Trustee Problem in the St. Louis Cathedral Church of New Orleans, La. Brother Alfonso Comeau (*ibid.*).
Polish Settlements in Minnesota, 1860-1900. Sr. M. Teresa, O.S.F. (*Polish Amer. Studies*, July, 1948).
The Polish People of Passaic. Sr. M. Gaudentia Fel (*ibid.*).
St. John's Polish College of Pennsylvania. Sr. M. Accursia Bern (*ibid.*).
The Okauchee House. Lincoln F. Whelan (*Wisconsin Mag. of Hist.*, Sept.).
St. Louis Church of Fond du Lac. W. A. Titus (*ibid.*).
Communications [concerning Jacques Marquette, S.J.]. Joseph Carlton Short (*ibid.*).
Judge Thomas H. Doyle. Charles Evans (*Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Summer).

Aspect intellectuel et universitaire du Canada d'après-guerre. Jean Bruchesi (*Culture*, Sept.).
Hernando de Miranda. Ray E. Held (*Florida Hist. Quart.*, Oct.).
The Internal Organization and Activities of San Fernando College, Mexico City (1734-1858). Maynard Geiger (*Americas*, July).
The Positivist Philosophy in Mexican Education, 1867-1873. Albert J. Delmez (*ibid.*).
José María Roa Bárcena, Mexican Writer and Champion of Catholicism. John Hays Hammond (*ibid.*).
Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, Pioneer of European Culture in America. Alberto María Carreno (*ibid.*).
The Human Aspect of Aves Diplomacy. An Incident in the Relations between the United States and Venezuela. William H. Gray (*ibid.*).
Faustin Soulouque, Emperor of Haiti: His Character and His Reign. John E. Baur (*Americas*, Oct.).
Working Women of Mexico. Fanchon Royer (*ibid.*).
The Wood-Beach at Recife: Contribution to the Economic History of Brazil. Robert C. Smith (*ibid.*).
Amado Nervo: His Mysticism and Franciscan Influence. Roderick A. Molina (*ibid.*).
John Lloyd Stephens and His American Book. Roscoe R. Hill (*ibid.*).
Cattle Industry in Colonial Brazil. Rollie E. Poppino (*Mid-America*, Oct.)
The Twelve Prophets at Congonhas do Campo. J. B. Bury (*Month*, Sept.).
El positivismo y la nueva moral hispanoamericana. Leopoldo Zea (*Filosofía y letras*, Oct. 1948).
Justo Sierra y los origenes de la Universidad Nacional de México 1910. Edmundo O'Gorman (*ibid.*, Jan. and Apr.).
Historia e historiadores del Perú, 1943-1946. Alberto Tauro (*Revista de historia de America*, June).
Desenvolvimento dos estudos históricos no Brasil. Virgilio Correa Filho (*ibid.*)

BOOKS RECEIVED

Adams, James Truslow, R. V. Coleman, and Joseph G. E. Hopkins. *Album of American History.* Volume V. *Index.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949. Pp. x, 222. $5.00.) The many students who have found the *Album* of so much interest and help will welcome this extensive index volume to the collection.

Albrecht-Carrié, René. *Italy from Napoleon to Mussolini.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. xiii, 314. $4.25.)

Altamira, Rafael. *A History of Spain.* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1949. Pp. xxx, 748. $6.75.)

Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1948. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. Pp. 199.)

Baugh, Albert C. *History of the English Language.* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1935. Pp. xiii, 509. $3.00.)

Becker, Carl. *Progress and Power.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. Pp. xi, 116. $2.50, trade edition; $1.85, text.) This slender volume of lectures delivered originally by Becker at Stanford University in 1935 is now reissued with a lengthy introductory essay by Professor Leo Gershoy of New York University, one of Becker's favorite students and close friends.

Bemis, Samuel Flagg. *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Policy.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949. Pp. xix, 588. $7.50.)

Bernanos, Georges. *Under the Sun of Satan.* (New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1949. Pp. 253. $3.00.)

Black, Jeannette D. and William Greene Roelker (Eds.). *A Rhode Island Chaplain in the Revolution: Letters of Ebenezer David to Nicholas Brown, 1775-1778.* (Providence: Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, 1949. Pp. xxxi, 82. $5.00.)

Blegen, Theodore C. *The Land Lies Open.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949. Pp. x, 246. $3.00.)

Boehm, Eric H. *We Survived. The Stories of Fourteen of the Hidden and the Hunted of Nazi Germany as told to Eric H. Boehm.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. Pp. xiii, 308. $3.75.)

Botsford, George Willis and Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr. *Hellenic History.* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948. Pp. xix, 509. $6.00.) Third edition.

Brown, Beatrice Bradshaw. *Church of St. Peter the Apostle, 1874-1949, Commemorating the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of Its Canonical Erection with a Historical Sketch of the Parish.* (Provincetown, Massachusetts: St. Peter's Church, 1949. Pp. 68.) This illustrated brochure is an attractive example of what a parish history within small compass should be. The anniversary was celebrated on October 9-12, 1949.

Burton, Katherine. *Chaminade, Apostle of Mary.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1949. Pp. x, 249. $3.00.)

Bury, J. P. T. *France, 1814-1940.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. Pp. xii, 348. $4.00.)

Butler, H. E. (Ed.). *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond.* Latin Original and English Translation. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1949. Pp. xxviii, 167, 15s.)

Carter, Clarence Edwin (Ed.). *The Territorial Papers of the United States.* Volume XIV. *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1806-1814, continued.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1949. Pp. v, 915. $2.75.)

Chagny, André. *Cluny et son empire.* (Lyon: Emmanuel Vitte, 1949. Pp. 326. 380 frs.) Fourth edition.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. *Canterbury Tales.* Selected and edited by Robert D. French of Yale University. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948. Pp. viii, 120. $.30.) A volume of the Crofts Classics.

Chitwood, Oliver Perry and Frank Lawrence Owsley. *A Short History of the American People.* 2 vols. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1949. Pp. xxii, 842; xxi, 811. $12.75.) The eighth printing of Volume I and the third printing of Volume II.

Coopland, G. W. (Introd.). *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. 316. $6.00.)

Davis, Harold E. *Latin American Leaders.* (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1949. Pp. 170. $2.50.)

D'Elia, Pasquale M. *Storia dell'introduzione del cristianesimo in Cina.* Vols. II and III. (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1949. Pp. xxxv, 652; xi, 372.)

Demarco, Domenico. *Pio IX e la rivoluzione romana del 1848.* (Modena: Società Tipografica Modenese, 1947. Pp. 152.)

Dennett, Raymond and Robert K. Turner (Eds.). *Documents on American Foreign Relations.* Vol. IX. *January 1-December 31, 1947.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the World Peace Foundation, 1949. Pp. xxxii, 759. $6.00.) The latest addition to the World Peace Foundation's very useful series of documents on current American foreign policy.

Dudon, Père Paul, S.J. *St. Ignatius of Loyola.* Translated by William J. Young, S.J. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1949. Pp. xiv, 484. $5.00.)

Eaton, Clement. *A History of the Old South.* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. lx, 636. $5.00.)

Finer, Herman. *The Theory and Practice of Modern Government.* (New York: Henry Holt, 1949. Pp. xiv, 978. $5.50.) Revised edition.

Fischer, Katherine (Trans.). *The Burgundian Code.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1949. Pp. xiii, 106. $2.25.)

Frank, Jerome. *Courts on Trial. Myth and Reality in American Justice.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. xii, 441. $5.00.)

Fremantle, Anne. *Desert Calling.* (New York: Henry Holt, 1949. Pp. ix, 364. $4.00.)

Garraty, John. *Silas Wright.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 426. $5.00.)

Gassner, Jerome. *The Canon of the Mass, Its History, Theology and Art.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1949. Pp. x, 404. $5.00.)

Gomez, Hilario. *La iglesia rusa su historia y su dogmatica.* (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas departamento de cultura internacional, 1948. Pp. 903.)

Gooch, G. P. *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century.* (New York: Peter Smith, 1949. Pp. vi, 604. $7.50.) The re-issue of the third and last edition (1920) of this work is most welcome, since the book has been out of print for a number of years and secondhand copies are rare. Gooch, in spite of some weaknesses, continues to remain the best general systematic survey of nineteenth-century historiography. It has not been entirely replaced by the corresponding sections in the more recent *History of Historical Writing* by James Westfall Thompson.

Green, Fletcher Melvin (Ed.). *Essays in Southern History presented to Joseph Gregoire de Roulhac Hamilton, Ph.D., LL.D., by his former students at the University of North Carolina.* Volume 31. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949. Pp. vii, 156.)

Hanke, Lewis. *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1949. Pp. xi, 217. $3.50.)

Hélin, Maurice. *A History of Medieval Latin Literature.* (New York: William Salloch, 1949. Pp. v, 130. $3.00.)

Hoskins, Halford L. *The Atlantic Pact.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1949. Pp. 104. $2.50.)

Hudson, Manley O. (Ed.). *International Legislation.* Vol. VIII. *1938-1941.* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1949. Pp. xlviii, 653. $4.00.)

Hurley, Mark J. *Church-State Relationships in Education in California.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1949. Pp. xx, 183. $2.25.)

Father Hurley of the Archdiocese of San Francisco has added another volume to the series on Church-State relations in education which have come from the Department of Education of the Catholic University of America in recent years. The historian of the American Church will find a good deal to interest him in this book.

Hutchins, Robert M. *St. Thomas and the World State.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1949. Pp. 53. $1.50.) This is the text—with notes—of the annual Aquinas Lecture for 1949 of Marquette University. The Chancellor of the University of Chicago dedicates the lecture to his colleague and friend, Mortimer Adler.

Jones, Howard Mumford. *Primer of Intellectual Freedom.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. xv, 191. $2.75.) Professor Jones of Harvard has here gathered and edited with an introduction a number of documents relating to academic freedom, ranging in time from Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* of 1605 to the statement of President Killian of M.I.T. in the case of Professor Dirk Striuk in 1949.

Keeney, Barnaby. *Judgment by Peers.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. 191. $2.50.)

Kisch, Guido. *Pseudo-Philo's Liber antiquitatum biblicarum.* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Publications in Mediaeval Studies, 1949. Pp. vi, 277.)

Larkin, Oliver W. *Art and Life in America.* (New York: Rinehart & Co. Inc., 1949. Pp. xviii, 547. $6.00.)

Leclercq, Dom Jean, O.S.B. (Ed.). *Yves de Chartres. Correspondance* I. (Paris: Société d'Edition. "Les Belles Lettres," 1949. Pp. xli, 317.)

Lortz, Joseph. *Die Reformation in Deutschland.* Dritte Auflage. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 1949. Pp. xii, 437; ix, 332.)

Mâle, Emile. *Religious Art from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century.* (New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1949. Pp. 208. $4.50.)

Martinez, Luis M., Archbishop of Mexico. *Secrets of the Interior Life.* Translated by H. J. Butler, C.M., St. John's Seminary, Camarillo, California. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1949. Pp. viii, 207. $3.00.)

Mayer, J. P. (Ed.). *The Recollections of Alexis de Tocqueville.* Translated by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xxvi, 332. $5.00.)

Merrick, M. M. *Thomas Percy, Seventh Earl.* (London: Duckett, 1949. Pp. xii, 140. 15s.)

Mills, Lennox A. and Associates. *The New World of Southeast Asia.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949. Pp. ix, 445. $5.00.)

Monaghan, Jay. *This is Illinois. A Pictorial History.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. Pp. vi, 211. $5.00.)

Mosteller, Frederick, et al. *The Pre-Election Polls of 1948. Report to the Committee on Analysis of Pre-Election Polls and Forecasts.* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1949. Pp. xx, 396. Cloth $3.00; paper $2.50.)

McCracken, George E. (Trans.). *Arnobius of Sicca. The Case Against the Pagans.* Book Four. (Westminster: Newman Press, 1949. Pp. 375-679. $3.25.)

McCrossen, Vincent A. *The New Renaissance of the Spirit.* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. Pp. x, 252. $3.00.) This volume by the professor of modern languages in Marietta College, Marietta, Ohio, points to the remaining forces of the spiritual world in a hopeful way for offsetting the prevalence of secularism and materialism.

McDermott, William C. (Trans.). *Gregory of Tours. Selections from the Minor Works.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1949. Pp. xi, 109. $2.50.)

McGinley, James J., S.J. *Labor Relations in the New York Rapid Transit Systems, 1904-1944.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xxiii, 635. $6.50.)

McKelvey, Blake. *Rochester the Flower City, 1855-1890.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. xvii, 407. $5.00.)

McRee, Griffith J. *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, One of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States.* Volume I. (New York: Peter Smith, 1949. Pp. viii, 605. $10.00.) This work was originally published in 1857 by D. Appleton & Company. Peter Smith has reprinted it among his Micro-Offset Books which run to editions of from 100 to 250 copies of these rare items. There are four pages of the original to one of the present and the print is, of course, quite small but with the aid of a reading glass research students will have no difficulty.

Ogle, Arthur. *The Tragedy of the Lollard's Tower.* (Oxford: Pen-In-Hand Publishing Co., 1949. Pp. 393. 21s.)

Oursler, Fulton and Will. *Father Flanagan of Boys Town.* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1949. Pp. xvi, 302. $3.00.)

Owsley, Frank L. *Plain Folk of the Old South.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. Pp. xxi, 235. $3.50.)

Painter, Sidney. *The Reign of King John.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1949. Pp. viii, 397. $5.50.)

Pease, Theodore Calvin. *The Story of Illinois from the First French Explorers to the Soldiers Returning from World War II—A History of Illinois Complete in One Volume.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. Pp. xviii, 284. $5.00.)

Perry, Ralph Burton. *Characteristically American.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1949. Pp. x, 162, v. $3.00.)

Piette, Charles J. G. Maximin, O.F.M. *Le secret de Junipero Serra, fondateur de la Californie-Nouvelle, 1769-1784.* 2 vols. (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1949. Pp. 480; 595. $6.00 for set.)

Polnay, Peter de. *Out of the Square.* (New York: Creative Age Press, Inc., 1949. Pp. 375. $3.00.)

Pratt, Julius W. *Expansionists of 1812.* (New York: Peter Smith, 1949. Pp. 309. $3.25.) This is a reprint of a volume published originally in 1925 by Macmillan.

Pribram, Karl. *Conflicting Patterns of Thought.* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1949. Pp. viii, 176. $3.25.)

Rambaud, R. P., O.P. *La dame toute belle. Etude objective et psychologique des événements de Fatima.* (Paris: Librairie Emmanuel Vitte, 1949. Pp. 186.)

Roberts, H. Ernest. *Medieval Monasteries and Minsters.* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. xii, 160. $2.50.)

Rust, Paul R., O.M.I. *The First of the Puritans and the Book of Common Prayer.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1949. Pp. xiii, 270. $3.75.)

Sargent, Daniel. *Their Hearts Be Praised, the Life of Saint John Eudes.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1949. Pp. xii, 309. $3.50.)

Sawicki, Jakub. *Concilia Poloniae II and III.* (Warsaw: Nakladem Towarzytswa Naukowego Warszawskiego, 1949. Pp. xi, 145; ix, 114.)

Selley, W. T. *England in the Eighteenth Century.* 2nd edition with sixteen maps. (New York: Macmillan Co.; London: Adam and Charles Black, 1949. Pp. viii, 408. $2.75.) This is a second edition of a work which originally appeared in 1934. Production difficulties have limited the revisions to a minimum. References to books and articles which have appeared since 1934 have been added to the short bibliography at the end of the book.

Siegmund, Albert. *Die Ueberlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum swölften Jahrhundert.* (Muenchen Pasing: Filser Verlag, 1949. Pp. 308.)

Silver, James W. *Edmund Pendleton Gaines, Frontier General.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. Pp. xxi, 291. $4.50.)

Stephen, Leslie. *History of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century.* 2 vols. (New York: Peter Smith, 1949. Pp. xvii, 466; xi, 469. $12.50.) This work is a reprint of the third edition of 1902.

Steward, Julian H. (Ed.). *Handbook of South American Indians.* Volume 5. *The Comparative Ethnology of South American Indians.* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949. Pp. xix, 818. $3.00.)

Stickney, William (Ed.). *Autobiography of Amos Kendall.* (New York: Peter Smith, 1949. Pp. ix, 700. $7.50.) This volume was originally published in 1872 but has long since been out of print. It is reprinted here among the Micro-Offset Books with four pages of the original to one page of the present volume. Micro-Offset Books is a recent project of Peter Smith to bring to research students scholarly items which have long been out of print.

Straus, Hannah Alice. *The Attitude of the Congress of Vienna toward Nationalism in Germany, Italy and Poland.* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 164. $2.75.)

Swift, Stephen K. *The Cardinal's Story, the Life and Work of Joseph, Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary.* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. xviii, 328. $3.75.)

Taylor, Henry Osborn. *The Mediaeval Mind. A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages.* 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. xx, 604; viii, 620. $10.00 for the set.) This is the fifth printing of the fourth edition of Taylor's work. It is a welcome reprint of a standard work which has long been a mine of information and ideas on the development and spirit of the mediaeval mind. Although much new material and new insights have added to our understanding of the period covered since Taylor published his fourth edition in 1925, the work remains an invaluable synthesis.

The People Shall Judge. 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. Pp. xvi, 797; xiv, 934. $4.50 each vol.)

Thomas Aquinas, Sister M., O.P.; Sister M. Eileen, O.P.; and Katherine Rankin. *A Book of Valor.* (Boston: Ginn Co., 1949. Pp. xi, 399. $2.08.)

Thurston, Herbert, S.J. *The Holy Year. The Visits to the Basilicas and the Conditions of the Jubilee.* (London: Sands and Co., Ltd., 1949. Pp. 49. 1/9d.) This brochure is an abridgment of Thurston's *Holy Year of Jubilee.*

Tradition and Prospect. The Inauguration of the Very Reverend Hunter Guthrie, S.J., as Thirty-Fifth President of Georgetown University, April 30 and May 1, 1949. (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1949. Pp. 84.) This slender volume gives the texts of the papers delivered during the two-day symposium attendant upon the ceremonies described in the title.

Trollope, Frances. *Domestic Manners of the Americans.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949. Pp. lxxxiii, 454, xix. $5.00.)

Ullman, Walter. *Medieval Papalism. The Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists.* (London, Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1949. Pp. xiv, 230. 18s.)

Venable, Witt. *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley. Historical and Biographical Sketches.* (New York: Peter Smith, 1949. Pp. xv, 519. $7.50.) This is a Micro-Offset book in a limited edition of a volume long out of print and first published in 1891.

Villeneuve, Marcel de la Bigne de. *Blanc de Saint-Bonnet.* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1949. Pp. 150.)

Wace, Alan F. B. *Mycenae. An Archaeological History and Guide.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. xviii, 150. $15.00.)

Welch, Sidney R. *South Africa under King Sebastian and the Cardinal.* (Cape Town: Juta & Co., Ltd., 1949. Pp. 487. 30/.)

Wyatt, Edward A., IV (Ed.). *Preliminary Checklist for Petersburg, 1786-1876.* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1949. Pp. 358.)

Xavieria, Sister M., O.S.U. *Singing with David and Ann.* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1949. Pp. 48. $.80.) This is a further addition to the Faith and Freedom Series of the Commission on American Citizenship of the Catholic University of America.

MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY BOOKS

The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities
By Pearl Kibre. Pp. xi, 240. **$5.00**

Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388
By Kenneth M. Setton. Pp. xvi, 323. **$7.50**

Harunu'l Rashid and Charles the Great
By F. W. Buckler. Pp. vii, 64. **$2.50**

A discount of 20% is allowed to Members of the Academy and to subscribers to SPECULUM, the Academy's quarterly journal of mediaeval studies.

THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA
1430 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

College of Notre Dame of Maryland

Charles Street Avenue, Baltimore 9, Maryland

A Catholic Institution for the Higher Education of Women

Affiliated with the Catholic University of America. Registered by the University of the State of New York and by the Maryland State Board of Education. Accredited by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland. Member of American Council on Education. Courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Address Registrar

NOTRE DAME PREPARATORY SCHOOL

Resident and Day Pupils
Address Secretary

THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

A quarterly circulated widely in Latin America and the United States containing articles, unedited documents, book reviews, minor notices, and professional news.

Managing Editor: JAMES FERGUSON KING

Board of Editors

ARTHUR S. AITON
CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA
BAILEY W. DIFFIE
CHARLES C. GRIFFIN
LEWIS HANKE
ROSCOE R. HILL
JAMES F. KING
IRVING A. LEONARD
ALEXANDER MARCHANT
CHARLES E. NOWELL

Advisory Editors

HERBERT E. BOLTON
ISAAC J. COX
CLARENCE H. HARING
CHARLES W. HACKETT
DANA G. MUNRO
J. FRED RIPPY
WILLIAM S. ROBERTSON

Editorial correspondence: PROFESSOR JAMES F. KING
Room 439, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley 4, California

Business Correspondence:
Duke University Press, College Station, Box 6697, Durham, N. C.
Subscription rates: $4.00 a year - - - Special rates to graduate students